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ABSTRACT

Originally written for students at St. Thomas' Hospital in London, this guide to child development offers an overview of child development for parents, teachers, and all adults concerned with raising children. Many of the book's ideas come from direct work with children and draw on Rudolf Steiner's approach to child development. The book's chapters are: (1) "Outer Aspects of Child Development Considered as a Whole"; (2) "The Child from Birth to Three"; (3) "The Child between Three and Six"; (4) "Temperament and Personality"; (5) "Children from Seven to Ten"; (6) "The Years from Eleven to Fifteen"; (7) "The First Adventure into Adult Life--Young People between Sixteen and Twenty"; and (8) "Epilogue: Threshold of Adult Life--21." Contains 92 references and a list of suggested further reading. (EV)

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Voyage through childhood into the adult world

A GUIDE TO CHILD DEVELOPMENT

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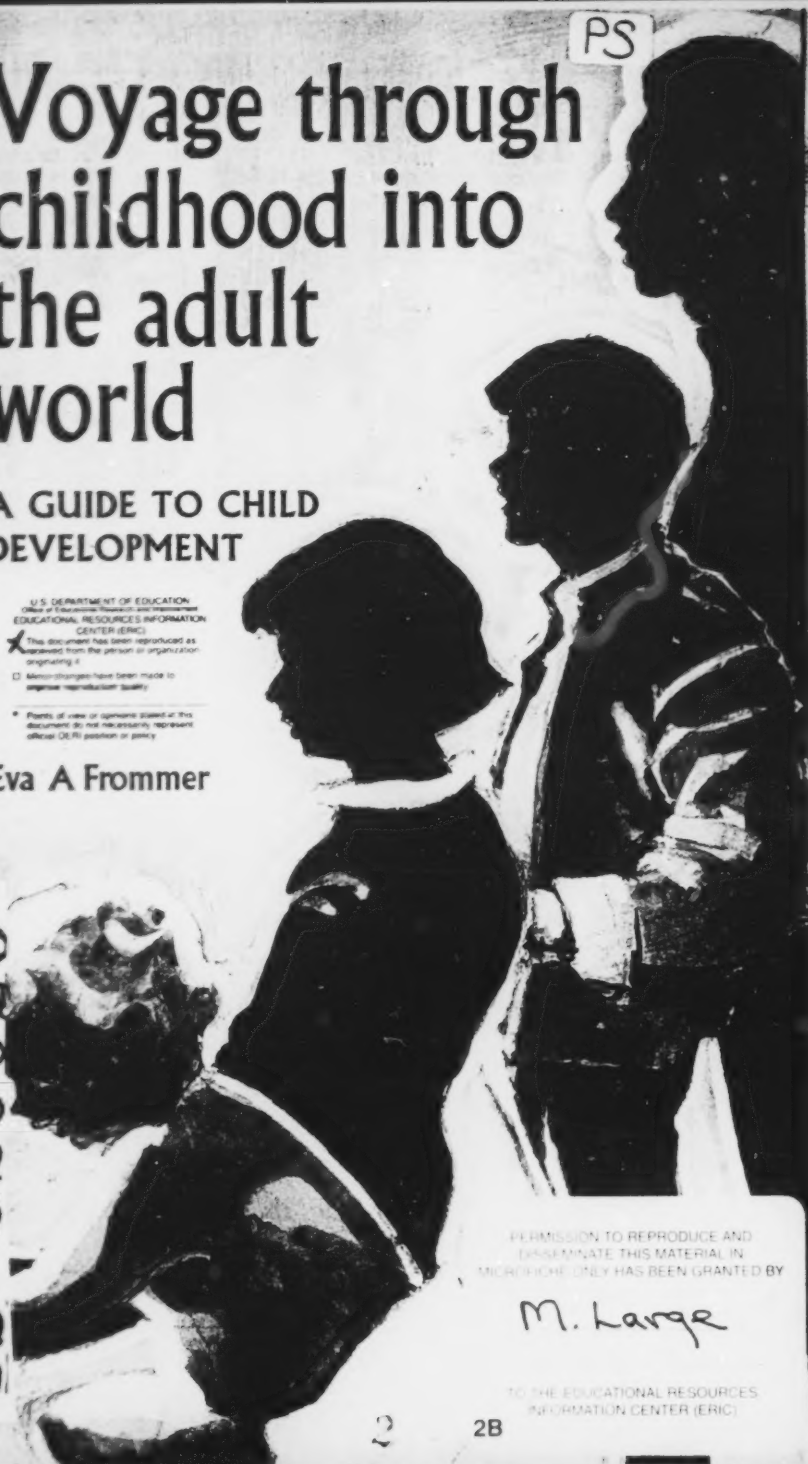
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VOYAGE THROUGH CHILDHOOD INTO THE ADULT WORLD

A guide to child development

Eva A Frommer MB, BS, DCH, DPM



Hawthorn Press

Voyage through childhood into the adult world

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Second Edition

Publishers note on editing the second edition. Since 1968, feminist studies have had a major effect on language expression. Because we felt editing into the text 'she/he' or 'him/her' respectively would have hindered the book's readability, we left the text alone for the most part. Please therefore read both 'he' and 'she' in the pronoun 'he'. Our apologies for any concerns caused by this decision.

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Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting
And cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness
And not in utter nakedness
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God who is our home:
Heaven lies about us in our infancy!

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH,
from the *Ode on Intimations of*
Immortality from Recollections
of Early Childhood.

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Foreword

Man's greatest occupation is in caring for humanity. The adult world carries a responsibility for the young who are passing through dependent stages on their way to becoming adult, and there is also a responsibility for all those who are born handicapped, who fall ill, or who are inadequate in some way. There is therefore a double need to understand the developmental stages—first, because human beings have a long infancy during which they are dependent upon others for the means of life and growth, and secondly because it may be possible to trace those factors in development which affect the balance of normality and abnormality at each age and stage of life. It is therefore understandable that there should be a large number of books which attempt to deal with human development.

The justification for a new one must be that the writer has something fresh to say and a compelling way of saying it. This book is derived from Dr. Frommer's professional observations in her work as a child psychiatrist, and it also includes her personal distillation of Rudolf Steiner's teachings which hitherto have remained the property of a small dedicated group of workers. There are many Rudolf Steiner schools which cater for the ordinary range of children, and there are parents who seek these benefits for their children. The staff of most social work and psychiatric agencies readily recognize the kind of disturbed child for whom they eagerly recommend placement in residential special schools organized on Rudolf Steiner principles. In spite of the high repute of all the Rudolf Steiner organizations there is a general lack of knowledge of what the systems imply. This is the first time that the Steiner developmental and educational philosophy has been brought into relationship with the more general theoretical approach employed by workers in psychiatric and social work services. Here the ideas are being made available to a wide professional and lay readership.

A deep concern for the uniqueness of each individual child permeates this book. Through it one can enter into the magical and creative fantasy life of the infant which in later years becomes the tool for dealing imaginatively with the unanticipated. The reader will find help in the discovery of creative solutions to some of the personal problems of normal adult life and for the problems that one is called

upon professionally to deal with in others. The voyage through childhood has both its hazards and its opportunities, and both are discussed.

The writing of this book is in itself a practical example of the way in which the ideas that are described have been a stimulus to the author's own creative imagination.

J. H. KAHN

Preface

What does a child actually experience?

This book aims to show what childhood may feel like to the child who is experiencing it. Throughout a phenomenological approach has been adopted. It has seemed to the author that our method of observing children as they are around us needs to be sharpened. The obvious or trivial tends to be taken for granted, yet what seems obvious or trivial may offer a clue to deep truth if studied in its own right.

While reference is made throughout to relevant works, a special effort has been made to make some of the concepts of child development, which Steiner evolved, available to general readers. His ideas have a very immediate practical application, as illustrated in the way that the syllabus of Steiner (Waldorf) Schools is built up. They have formed an important contribution to educational practice, but the underlying concepts have been seriously neglected in educational thinking. An effort is made here at taking a first step to stimulate more research into the aspects of human development which are opened up by Steiner's work.

The author is indebted to a number of friends and colleagues for helpful criticism and comments on the text. Especial thanks are due to Dr. Herbert Geuter of Sunfield Children's Homes, Clent, and to Professor J. M. Tanner of the Institute of Child Health, Great Ormond Street, for their constructive criticisms.

Dr. Kahn has been a guide and source of strength and courage throughout the preparation of this book, and I cannot adequately express my thanks and appreciation for his help.

Introduction

To many people the word 'childhood' conveys a picture of idyllic innocence and ignorance of the world, a situation where the individual is free of all responsibility, a natural process with which adults must not interfere. On the other hand it is a strange paradox that among these very adults there will undoubtedly be some who, when recalling their childhood, make a brief comment about misunderstanding at home or misery at school, and quickly talk of something else.

Children, it is true, are normally unaware of the responsibilities of life in society, but as this book sets out to show, they have other tasks and responsibilities, inherent in the processes of growth and development which we can observe in them. These are as important and as much justice must be done to them as is awarded a professional footballer in training or a student at university. To some degree, indeed, the proper fulfilment of later demands made by life on the individual will depend upon the way in which he was able to carry out the learning tasks of childhood, and on what he has been able to build up for himself out of that experience, with or without adult help.

These learning tasks which the normal process of childhood development brings alter in character but not in magnitude from stage to stage. Indeed, if the adult remains inwardly pliant, receptive, and adaptable, he will find that life continues to bring him such challenges or learning tasks, though he can usually choose whether he takes them up or not. The child cannot choose to leave such a task undone without great detriment to his further progress, and it is one of the chief responsibilities of the adults around him, parents, relatives, teachers, and society, to help him tackle each in turn and win through. For the child, childhood is a hard job of work, and perhaps if this becomes better known and appreciated there will be less of the present casual attitude to the children around us struggling with insuperable odds. Such conditions as inadequate housing, little play space, a brutal response to children by many adults, especially public officials, such as caretakers and park attendants, impatience, and lack of adequate facilities from school buildings to hospital units, create a lamentable situation. Thus plans and attempts to make his surroundings fit to represent modern life and to be offered as his world to the growing child are frustrated. The fact that he does accept everything he meets

indiscriminately is inherent in his own physiological and psychological make-up as a child—it is part of the 'childishness' which makes him the more vulnerable to impressions and influences surrounding him. Our responsibility is therefore the greater. Perhaps as it is more generally realized how seriously we are failing our children there will be less envy and resentment by adults of their supposed innocent, ignorant, and irresponsible state. How often one hears 'When I was young I didn't have . . . , etc.' What an appalling attitude this is must become apparent when consideration is given to what the particular child has and what, in fact, his actual needs are. The wishes of one generation may be poison to the children of the next, wishes can be no true criterion of what is 'good' for the child, whether they come from the child himself or the adults.

There are some objective means for judging what is 'good' for the child. Several workers have described in detail the stages of physical and psychological development of children, as observed by themselves in everyday contact or research with them, and measured and evaluated carefully through the course of years. Because the results in each case have been based on observations of actual children, the finding of all complement each other, and a rounded picture of child development can be constructed from their work. Outstanding among these workers are Gesell^{19, 20} and Piaget^{47, 52} of the psychologists, and Tanner,^{85, 86} Falkner,¹⁵ Illingworth,²⁶ and Steiner,⁶¹⁻⁸³ who all describe and relate physiological changes and physical signs to the psychological and emotional stages of development, and so bridge these two aspects.

In the following text an attempt is made to weld aspects of child development into a rounded picture, drawing on the work of all the writers mentioned, supplementing this with observations from the author's personal experience. The National Child Development Study⁹ and the work of J. Douglas^{12, 13} have also been freely drawn upon among many others. No attempt will be made to explore the theoretical implications of analytically oriented psychology in this present study, as it is intended to remain within the framework of simple, generally observable phenomena. There have, of course, been a number of studies of child development based on an analytically oriented theoretical framework,^{14, 16, 17, 30, 32, 91, 92} and the reader who wishes to pursue this line of study is referred to these.

If the process of growing up into an adult is taken to need 21 years, then this period can be conveniently divided up into a number of stages

or epochs, each of which has a distinct outwardly obvious limit. While physical growth normally shows a well-regulated pattern, there are a series of discrete stages of development rather than a smooth progression. The child's energies are engaged with the tasks of each stage in different ways. In some children it is one stage that brings with it a disturbance and anxiety, in some another; here it is 'teething troubles and tantrums', there it is a panic on entering school; elsewhere teenage rebellion. Sometimes there is trouble throughout. A child who is handicapped either physiologically, through brain damage or 'backwardness', or emotionally because of deprivation, shocks, or maltreatment, will have some difficulties at most stages even though he has received adequate help over a previous hurdle. Each new milestone can bring exaggerated anxieties to an emotionally vulnerable child, and therefore those helping him (parents, foster or adoptive parents, family friends, teachers, child-care workers) must not regard their previous efforts as having failed if symptoms of disturbance which they had previously dealt with reappear at such times. Such recurrent difficulties must be expected, and then they become less discouraging and easier to manage. The whole process is reminiscent of one of the old sagas of the heroes—of the *Odyssey* or *Parsifal*. The traveller hopes eventually to arrive at his goal enriched with wisdom and strength and able to rule his heritage.

The child must first learn to manage and inhabit his physical body and how it functions in space and time, then he must learn to commune with his fellow men. He must learn their language and methods, and their habits of life. When he has mastered all this (say by about age 12), he is suddenly overwhelmed by the experiences of puberty, and has to learn about his body and its feelings all over again. Then his task is to incorporate all he has learned previously, and develop it further within this new, more adult presence that he has acquired. Finally, when he has achieved this integrating process, he is ready to bear his part in life as a fully adult person. At each stage the child is changed. He is no longer the same individual that we knew 6 months previously. Often a mother says 'It all goes too quickly, I've hardly got to know him as a baby, and now he is someone else'. But what has been learned has been stored up in the child's organism, sometimes transformed over the course of years, and then contributes to his nature as an adult. An example of this is the free play in which small children between 3 and 5 or 6 indulge. Later in childhood this outer imaginative activity disappears. Occasionally, however, we find the child 'day dreaming'.

He is now doing in his mind what he did outwardly when he was little. Later again at about 11 or 12 he becomes inventive, and interested in making things or doing things for people. Here is the same free imagination, working more actively and generating a practical response within the child. Then, later, at apprenticeship or study, with set examinations looming, there is little opportunity for free practical work or thinking. Once adulthood is attained, this free imagination, which, if it has been fostered, can have been growing and developing with the child through the years, becomes the tool for the adult individual in dealing with the need for meeting and adapting to new circumstances. It gives resources for tackling the unexpected in life, for seizing opportunities and also for realistic and sympathetic insight into the problems and difficulties of others. This can be a basis for offering constructive help out of true insight into a problem, and imaginative initiative whether to those in need, or in the processes of official negotiation in politics or industry.

The adult's faculties, qualities, and difficulties do not come out of nowhere. His continued interest in life, and in his fellow men, will largely stem from the interest that people took in answering his own *first* questions about the world when he was 3, 4 or 5 years old. His confidence in others, and in his own capacity, the absence of a need to lean on someone, will stem from the way in which he learned to bridge the gap between his inner subjective and the outer objective world, when he first discovered himself as an isolated person at about 9 or 10. Each stage brings inherent challenge, danger, and opportunity. It is quite unrealistic, therefore, to divide up childhood for administrative convenience, and apportion bits of it to various people who have usually no idea of what went before, and who, because of the pressure of work on them, cannot take more than a cursory interest in what will follow later. Unfortunately for purposes of systematic study and observation as in a book like this, it is essential to break the total pattern, and so an artificial impression can easily arise. However, an attempt at continuity will be made, through a certain amount of overlapping from chapter to chapter. Only the barest outline can be given in such a short book, but it is hoped to stimulate personal observation and contact with children by the readers themselves, which will inevitably lead them to far greater knowledge and understanding of the subject.

At a staff meeting which the author attended in a residential institution for children, out of fifteen staff and students, only one

(apart from three who were themselves parents) had ever really talked with a normal 4- or 5-year-old child. This is a clear example of the situation into which theories and case conferences about children, rather than talk *with* (not *to*) children, can lead even the best-intentioned people who want to work with or for them. It is my great hope that this book will not add to this tendency, but will rather lead the reader to the children themselves, eager and willing to learn more about them through direct contact and communication with them.

Chapter 1

Outer aspects of child development considered as a whole

To justify yet another book about children and their development, one must either have something new to say, or else be able to point to practical implications in the writing of it. It is the latter plea that should justify the present volume, for quite obvious practical issues arise from looking at child development in the particular way attempted here, which may also be found helpful in the face of problems and difficulties. Throughout, emphasis has been on what it must feel like to the child to be at each of the stages of his development, in the hope that readers may in turn feel what would best meet his need at that particular stage for his further development, or to meet his special problems at the time.

In the first place, the needs of the infant and toddler and of his parents deserve restating. It is now well known that adequate play space and part-time play groups are an essential planning priority if parents and children are to build a mentally and physically healthy family life. However, it is less clearly realized that parents need to be selective about the stimuli to which they allow their infants and young children to be exposed. As will be shown, the younger the child the more he is likely to absorb and accept uncritically everything that is done, said, and shown around him, and make it into part of his habit of living. Education of the baby begins at birth through the loving touch with which he is handled, the regularity and reliability with which he is fed and tended, and the intimate and special communication that is

established with him by his mother and father. His further education takes place by his imitation of them, and it is by this means that he learns to talk. If he is not spoken with, he will not learn speech. Young mothers of only children sometimes say they feel silly talking to their baby who does not talk back. In the writer's experience at least one such child was subsequently admitted to hospital at 4 for investigation of failure to speak. Children will, of course, imitate words heard by them and particularly those words which can arouse a dramatic response regardless of their intrinsic meaning, which has usually escaped them entirely. If the child is to use clean, clear speech, he must hear such speech in *everyday* use around him, not kept only for visitors or for when he is out. This is just one example of the way in which education starts from birth.

It is unrealistic to expect children to achieve certain skills before their faculties necessary for these skills are fully matured and it also does grave injustice to the natural processes of growth and development as the child's abilities unfold. It may be of no value for a child under the age of 6 or 7 to be able to read, for example, unless he has the conceptual ability to make sense out of what he is reading. On the other hand, the 4-6-year-old has a capacity for questioning, for imagining, for inventiveness in play, which no other age group can match, and if he spends this time with his nose in a book or glued to the television set he loses an experience of freedom and independence which is possible at this time in play and which he may never be able to make up. Later he may feel the lack of this early experience of independence tasted in his creative play, when he has to confront life and make his own decisions as an adult; because he has missed being able to practise his individual creative initiative in play form, without outside interference, in his early years. Each stage of childhood has its own characteristics and needs, and it is intended to highlight these in the following chapters.

Childhood can be seen as a progressive series of expressions of the individuality of the child. What is done by others to or for the physically healthy child can modify, obstruct, or nurture this progress, but leaves the actual sequence of processes untouched. The outbursts of self-assertion which occur throughout childhood and adolescence are main crisis points where the individuality confronts us in apparent opposition, and if these situations are misunderstood and mishandled things can go badly wrong. When the 2½-year-old, who had been a 'good' baby, produces tantrums for 6 months and defies his

parents at every point, this normally signals the beginning of the first inner awareness of his individual existence. When he suddenly announces 'I want', the parents can usually heave a sigh of relief, as they are about to sail into calmer waters. But they must realize that a new aspect of their child's person confronts them. Now he needs a certain degree of emotional independence. Whereas it is sheer desertion to leave an 18-month-2-year-old child to fend for himself in his active waking hours, a 3-year-old will protest if he feels himself to be smothered by anxiety or possessiveness. Mother must, of course, still be 'available'—and his unawareness of danger makes adequate supervision most important, but his actual play is much more independent.

Then at 9 or 10 there is a second crisis point described in detail in Chapter 5. If the child is prone to anxiety he may well develop a quite severe depression during this phase. On the other hand, detached and independent children, particularly those who have never had a warm contact with any adult previously, can become truly antisocial from this time, and never find a bridge except to others with a similar attitude. The adults must understand what is happening in the child; the child does not understand it himself. They must help and convince the child that they can still be trusted and believed, although he has now seen their feet of clay. Clinging children who shrink from life must be helped to find courage again, antisocial children must learn to feel that the world is a part of themselves as they are a part of the world, by dint of their very existence, whether they opt out or not. At this time it is the school that can take an active part in making this necessary contact with the 'new' child. He needs to be reassured and reorientated in his relationship to the real world as well as to the adults who are closely connected with him personally. The school can come to the rescue and make the experience a living reality by offering appropriate learning material, whose content can reassure as well as instruct the child. For example the syllabus of the Rudolf Steiner Schools, also known as Waldorf Schools (for normal children), at this time introduces the children to members of the animal kingdom with the object of showing how each animal brings to specialist perfection something that man has in himself as a possibility;^{67, 68, 77, 83} the eagle his accuracy, the lion his courage, the wasp its skill in making paper. The children learn about aspects of themselves in relation to the living natural world. This can give them a feeling of security, and familiarity with it. These lessons are followed some months later by lessons about

the members of the plant kingdom, and the different terrains of the earth where different kinds of plants grow.^{67, 68} This is a way in which the children can feel their personal place and participation in the objective world of which they have so suddenly become aware and which could seem so threatening and unfamiliar; on the other hand, because the lessons relate the natural kingdoms to man, the children can find new security in looking at the phenomena of the outer world, instead of hostility and fear. Their interest and learning energies are directed to understanding living processes on which man certainly depends for life, but which have their own secure, inherent laws.

A brief anecdote may illustrate how far children may become divorced from events in life, and to what a dangerous state this can bring them. A school group in the author's clinic grew some mustard and cress on plates of cotton wool. When it was ready for cutting they made a plate of sandwiches, and left some of these for another group of 8-10-year-olds who were coming in for treatment that afternoon, and who had, of course, watched the cress grow as they shared the room with the school group. Not one of the children would touch the cress in the afternoon—they had seen it grow from 'dirt', so it was dirty, 'It comes out of the earth'—the therapist had to eat the lot. It is such episodes that bring home to us the catastrophic divorce from true life that characterizes the lives of some children. That it continues into adult life was demonstrated by a mother who recently remarked in astonishment that she had never noticed trees shed their leaves in autumn, and must really look next time. These were all normally intelligent people, but totally cut off from living reality.

The next major crisis, puberty, is preceded by a few months when the children are often particularly receptive to social ideas.⁶⁸ If this is utilized to the full, and historically and practically the individual child has learned of human achievement in the world, of his parents' work and interests, of technological advances and conquests, and of the heroic individuals who made them possible, then he goes forward to this next stage well armed and prepared, confident that individuals can achieve real success in life. If, on the other hand, he feels 'classified' by being placed in one stream rather than another, and permanently categorized by this time, as can happen all too easily under present educational practice in Great Britain, he will at most be interested in learning what is of practical use in earning a living, at least according to general secondary-school experience, and it is extremely hard to kindle any spark of enthusiasm in such a youngster. The whole question of

structuring a school syllabus to the developmental needs of children requires one book at least to itself. As has already been said, the syllabus of Steiner (or Waldorf) Schools is based on a study of these needs and tries to meet them out of an artistic concept and interpretation. There is an ample field for fruitful research in this subject.

It is very important to realize when dealing with youngsters in early puberty that this is a phase which passes. The chaotic experience which it brings to the young people themselves will be fully described in a later chapter. At the time the grown-ups feel that they are riding on a switchback and taking a journey which never seems to end. However, the end comes soon enough, normally at 14 or 15 and leaves the youngster exhausted, vulnerable, and questioning his part in life. What was it all for? This is the third 'crisis of identity' in the progress of childhood, and in some ways the most crucial one. He turns naturally to the grown-ups around him, who, as he now sees more clearly, have also struggled, and won or lost. He can again accept authority if it has come from experience, whether of achievement or failure, but he will accept no other. Least of all will he accept standards imposed by others who do not live by them themselves. It is probably the general discipline for all in the services that makes this discipline acceptable to the young recruit; they are all in it together and the regimental sergeant-major has been through the ranks himself.

Very precious and fruitful pupil teacher relationships can be built up between a child and his parents, or friends or school teachers, at this time, and many problems can be tackled in a way which was not possible previously, particularly with disturbed and deprived youngsters. For this reason help from children's officers, youth employment officers, and probation services, and most of all support from school, should still be available, even if only on a part-time basis, most particularly to those young people who have been handicapped by a troubled or deprived childhood. It is quite unrealistic to withdraw support earlier, however well things seem to be going. Until the youngster has found his feet *after* the pubertal crisis he is not truly through his difficulties, and with some disturbed children there may be a delay of several years until they reach this point, because emotional trauma and deprivation may delay the maturation of the individual. There is a grave risk that young people who have not been able to have such support although in need of it, or where it was withdrawn too soon, perhaps because it was thought that going to

work (at 15 or 16) would be an adequate stimulus to develop maturity and responsibility in the young man or woman, will fail to adjust satisfactorily to the demands of adult society.

The choice of work is something that is far too lightly decided. Perhaps it has been the tradition of carving up the child among different schools, different teachers (annually at least), and three different Ministries (Health, Education, and Social Security), not to mention the Home Office, which has responsibilities for children 'in need of care and protection', that has led to the notable lack of real concern about work placement, or indeed about the youngster himself once he has been placed in a job. The girl or boy is dazzled by the prospect of a first pay-pocket, the parents by the prospect of an addition to their income, and no long holidays, and too late the boy (or girl) realizes that he is in a dead-end job, expendable and replaceable, and probably once more a failure.

The grown-ups at work must also learn to care more about the newcomers into their midst. Too often they are left to get on as best they can, without any social focus at work where they could find companions, human warmth, and the chance to be themselves rather than part of a machine or of the office furniture. They can find themselves in a world where no one is a human being, where everyone is playing a set, allotted part, as union members, as manager, or in any other function, and life can gradually take on an unreal, inhuman routine into which they become inevitably drawn, to dance like puppets to a ghostly tune to which their boss is also dancing.

Reality must return to working life for people, particularly for young people. They cannot understand or tolerate traditional hierarchies or posturings which seem to have no connection with individual merit. If this humanity does not reappear, more and more boys and girls will seek their fortunes elsewhere rather than stifle in the closely built ranks that obstruct the way to change in almost every field in which they try to make a beginning at work. The young man or woman is still aware of the processes of growth and change which are a part of real life. They seek work where these processes will play a part, where change, progress, and development are allowed for, and where there is a place for living people.

Chapter 2

The child from birth to three

During the first 3 months of the mother's pregnancy, a great drama of history is being enacted within the womb. The embryo during this time takes on successively the primordial forms of a unicellular then a multicellular creature comparable with first a fish, then an amphibian, and, after these, finally, the first recognizable mammalian structures on which the human body will be developed are laid down. During this process whole systems of organs are developed and discarded, whole worlds are traversed by the growing physical organism. This development takes place under the regulating influence of the tissues which are developing into brain and central nervous system, and the direction of their influence is from the brain areas outwards through the rest of the developing body. This process of growth, metamorphosis, and development is at its most rapid during the first 3 months of pregnancy. Once the human form is laid down finally, there are normally few further changes in the fundamental form of the organs of the body, and the process becomes one of growth in size and maturation of these organs. The precise form of the physical body, its sex, and certain characteristics inherited from the parents, are determined by the genetic content of the germ cells that united at conception.

Recent research has shown that it is the actual chemicals within the cells that transmit the organizing forces of genetic inheritance, which modify the growing embryo according to the parents' ancestry. The complex molecule of desoxyribonucleic acid has the special property of being able to act as a transmitter of inherited morphology, and to become the vehicle for certain inherited constitutional factors.^{88, 89}

It is known that growth proceeds within the central nervous system from the brain downward until long after birth, and that the further physical development of the child takes place under the regulating overall influence of pituitary growth hormone. At birth, these processes are by no means finished. No other young creature is as helpless and exposed to all influences for as long as is the human baby. None other is as biologically 'unfinished' at birth, in the sense of having so far to go developmentally, though some creatures live out part of their life as one kind of finished organism (e.g. caterpillar) and, after a time of transformation, reappear as quite another (butterfly or moth), or some mammals such as kittens are blind and helpless for a few days.

When the baby is born, he is at the beginning of a long course in developing and growing and maturing his body, but the processes now will depend in a great measure for their successful completion on the surroundings which have replaced what we picture as the warm, dark, unconscious security of the womb, and particularly on the way in which he is handled and cared for by those around him. Merely in physical terms, it is salutary to recapitulate the facts implied in such a change for the newborn baby. In the womb, he was suspended in fluid which shielded him from the impact of the laws of gravity, and also from pressure variations to a great extent. There was no light to stimulate his eyes, the sounds about him were dominated by his mother's heartbeat, and there were no temperature fluctuations.

Now that the baby is born, he is exposed to bright light, to the force of gravity, and has lost the support of the waterbed in which he lay. He meets a cacophony of noise, and, particularly, under a hygienic regime, he is subject to the loss of the sound of his mother's heartbeat, which gave him life. He is also subject to unpredictable temperature fluctuations. Mann and Elliott¹⁹ called attention to the danger of such temperature fluctuations particularly where premature or unwell newborn babies were concerned who were nursed in their homes in cold weather. The extent of the newborn baby's vulnerability must be constantly borne in mind when his management and care are in question. He is utterly dependent upon the quality of his physical surroundings and upon the insight and understanding of those caring for him. It is obvious how important this is for his future health, both mentally and physically. The processes of growth have not ceased, but the birth of the baby modifies their course. From now on it is the maturation of the child's organs and growth to adult size which needs

to be completed, e.g. the lungs have to be expanded and come into use for breathing, the haemoglobin in red blood cells completes its change from the foetal type to the form more suited to terrestrial life, a central valve in the upper chambers of the heart closes to divide off the blood circulation into pulmonary and systemic compartments, the liver cells still continue to mature, and the adrenals undergo great changes, the muscles of the limbs and trunk now begin to come increasingly into activity, and develop accordingly. Parallel with this there is continuing progressive maturation of the cells in the central nervous system at least up to the age of 2, probably for much longer.

Motor Development—the First Year

During the first weeks, the baby begins to be able to support his head independently, and to move his limbs with increasing freedom. After 2–3 months, the trunk muscles have become sufficiently strong for him to make efforts to raise himself, and by 5 or 6 months, he can sit for a while with support. Parallel with this, the arms and hands are increasingly freer, and can begin to come under his control; by 3 months he can grasp the nipple or teat while feeding, and from 3 months he admires and investigates his hands and feet as independent objects. This process continues, and, given the opportunity to lie and kick and roll over in safety, e.g. on a rug on the floor, the baby, by 8 or 9 months, can sit independently, and then, at about 9–10 months, begins to try to get about. First efforts to stand come between 10 and 14 months, and by 15–18 months the youngster can usually walk.

This whole process is governed by the brain and central nervous system, which itself is still growing, maturing, and developing during the whole of this time. The baby is not physically capable of performing the various actions such as holding his own head up, until the nerves and muscles are sufficiently matured and co-ordinated. There is no evidence that attempts to force the pace of this development do anything but harm. If there appears to be an unwarranted delay in the appearance of any of these motor skills, medical help and advice must be sought. Do-it-yourself assessment and untrained efforts at 'treatment' can do damage.

A great deal of harm can result from ignorant handling of the infant or from his neglect by persons not aware of his physical needs apart from regular feeding and changing. The baby needs to be able to

exercise his newly wakening skills in order to be able to learn and to retain and develop them further. He must have warmth and security and stillness in his first weeks, while he becomes acclimatized to his new environment. Then he will begin to enjoy looking about him, playing with his newly discovered hands and feet, craning up to try and meet someone, and finally cruising around by creeping or sliding, testing out the experience of locomotion under his own steam. The busy mother in cramped surroundings, with a demanding family and with dangerous electric plugs and other potentially lethal objects at floor level or within too easy reach around her inadequate flat, is naturally reluctant to allow the baby the chance to explore. He is more easily managed if confined to his cot or pram where he can come to no harm and also cannot make a mess. This is an insoluble problem for many families under present housing conditions; however, it cannot be a matter for surprise that these children, when they are too big to be tied into cot or pram, become ungovernably restless, and either drive their families to despair by their incessant demands, or else make their presence felt by persistent, inarticulate, but well-directed tantrums and aggression.

The situation is much worse in the case of a baby who has been restricted earlier in his motor ~~development~~ by partial sensory deprivation. This may occur because of impairment or loss of vision or hearing. Relative sensory deprivation can also come about through failure on the part of the parents or nurse to stimulate the baby.

Sensory Development

There has been a good deal of research into the role of imprinting of 'objects', and into release phenomena and the establishing of primary behaviour patterns in young creatures during the past 30 years, and recently there has been a beginning of such investigations in man. Gunther²³ showed that a recurrent pattern of feeding behaviour can be released in a baby from his first being put to the mother's breast. If he has a satisfactory start to suckling because the breast is 'of good design' or the situation is skilfully handled, feeding will go smoothly; if he has a struggle, e.g. because of an inverted nipple, or because his upper lip is obstructing his nose, the pattern of struggling for breath easily becomes established, and there will be a tendency to struggle throughout the whole time of breast or bottle feeding and even later.

Further research into the significance of imprinting mechanisms in man will doubtless be pursued, but, even with present knowledge, it can be said that the sensory environment of a small baby is of prime importance from the very beginning, in his growth, development, and learning.

The baby can only defend himself against unwanted sense impressions by yelling in protest or by going to sleep. He cannot escape, and he cannot shut them out by thinking of something else. This does not, however, mean that the sense-impressions which he meets do not matter. They are the first awakers of a response from him, they challenge him to react. Observation of a tiny baby during the course of a day shows clearly that he is a defenceless victim of hunger, discomfort, and pain, but on the other hand there is no more complete response to comfort, to loving handling, than that of a small baby. D. W. Winnicott⁹¹ has admirably described the intimate relationship which can be built up between a mother and her small baby and there is no apter name than 'nursing couple'⁴¹ to describe this relationship (Fig. 1).

The needs of the baby for healthy development from the point of view of his sensory functions are plain and obvious to every loving mother. It seems almost fatuous to attempt an objective description, yet the very fact that these needs are so obvious brings about a dangerous state where it is taken for granted that every person knows what they are. That they do not know becomes plain when one is dealing with the questions and problems of young parents. The work of Spitz^{58, 59, 60} and Bowlby⁷ relating to deprived children in institutions showed clearly that assumptions with regard to children's needs which were based upon accepted clinical theories and traditions had fallen appallingly short of their real requirements. Following this work there has been continued intensive research and questioning of many basic assumptions about child care. The very fact of having to be away from a personally related and individually loving mother at this most vulnerable age is bad enough, but these workers have shown that there is also risk of an additional deprivation of sensory stimulation in children in a 'hygienic' institutional setting and that this can have a crippling effect upon their physical and intellectual development.

In the early weeks, up to about 3 months, the baby is most involved with adjusting himself to a regular feeding schedule, and to forging an intelligible communication with his mother and father. Parents often say that it took them 3 months to get to 'know' their child. Half way

through this time, he begins to smile or cry in response to stimuli, especially if he is smiled at and talked to by someone, and the beginnings of real language development are laid in his early cooing and babbling, as will be described later. Early communication depends upon intimate eye-to-eye contact with his parents (Fig. 2). It is a magical language, intelligible only to them and chiefly mediated through touch and vision. A baby who spends all day in a cot or pram, however apparently hygienic, without this kind of contact with a responding adult, is therefore deprived of the first elements of human communication, as well as of sensory stimulus.

As the baby becomes more aware of his own body, it becomes his toy. He chews his fingers or toes, and becomes very upset when, stretching with glee, he loses his toy in the process. He begins to explore his parents' faces, though not yet relating them to his own, and he gradually becomes selective in his response; by 10 months most children are shy and distressed if approached by strangers.

With the capacity to sit up, the baby gains an entirely new world of experience, and a little more choice, unless he is strapped and propped—in that he can shut himself off by lying down. His hands become tools as well as toys as neuromuscular control improves, and hand-eye co-ordination becomes possible. Distance now becomes a problem. While the baby lay on his back, the only efforts at focusing needed arose during feeding, or while he was communicating with an adult. His experience of the outer world was confined within a relatively narrow radius. Now, by sitting up and beginning to handle things, he sees a wider world, and needs to focus to different distances. In this way the child gradually learns about the practical side of perspective. By the time that he can get about, he has a fair idea of the possible and the impossible goals, though no idea, of course, about danger.

The vertical dimension also begins to interest the baby who can sit up—to the cost of patient bystanders who are constantly in demand for picking things up. Of course where this is the *first* time that the baby has managed to communicate with an adult, this particular game can become a most tiresome attention-seeking device. However, it is not of the slightest use to punish the child for a normal function which has got out of hand. Realization of this would save many a painful scene outside supermarkets and shops.

At about 10–12 months the baby begins to explore his own body more thoroughly and little boys often begin pulling at their penis in

rather the same way as they pull at their fingers and toes. If the mother will play games about the child's body with him, for example such as are contained in some traditional lullabies and nursery songs, all this interest will find its right outlet. His body does after all belong to the child and it is quite irrational for someone else, even if it is his mother, to wish to prevent his becoming acquainted with it. This interest in the body and its parts, and gradually also in the bodies of his parents and siblings, continues until the end of the third year in most children. By then, if self-exploration has been fully permitted and helped, a child will also usually have achieved the control of bowel movements and of his bladder.

Once the child can stand, at about 1 year to 15 months old, a new sensation has been added to his field of experience. He now finds himself suspended as it were in the three dimensions of space, which previously he had been playing with. There is a look of extraordinary concentration on the child's face when he achieves the standing posture; in a way he takes hold of himself. Previously when he first sat up and the wide world was revealed to him for the first time, his expression was of wonder and joyous surprise.

Soon after learning to stand the baby takes his first steps. From this point, it is best to describe the further development of sensory and motor functions together.

The Twelve Senses

Perhaps this is a suitable place in our account to pause and look at some of the changes to this kind of development in the modern environment which may be less evident to the reader in the general comments so far.

It is obvious that the eyes and ears are the general gateway to the senses through which the growing infant meets the outside world. It is no wonder therefore that the vision and hearing are expected to be carefully and regularly monitored in the growing child. This is the task of the Welfare clinic service and school medicine and in this country we have excellent facilities. The benefit depends of course on the parents and children making use of them. Too many adolescents suffer from failing sight because they have neglected to wear necessary correcting lenses in their spectacles prescribed at an early age. Impairment may be very difficult to discover in a young child and failure to imitate speech noises made by others, together with evidence

of boredom shown by self stimulation such as masturbation or rocking, for example, could be the first signal of such difficulties. Experience shows that if a mother complains that a child cannot hear, this must be seriously investigated at once.

There are, however, more senses and they mediate various experiences, as the senses of smell, taste and touch bridge the inner and outer worlds for the individual. A sense of warmth is an individual's response to his inner and outer environment. It is life-preserving.

Turning inwards, we can recognize in the infant's experiments with gravity—and standing and walking—a developing sense of posture and movement, while his experiments with the three dimensions of space develop his orientation and balance. Lastly in this direction there is a sense of well-being, of being comfortable in one's own body, which is one of the first senses the baby responds to, but which sinks into obscurity in adult life so that the busy worker tends to override it, and so may become prey to stress disorders of many sorts.

Some activities of these senses always accompany any outer sense perception causing slight physical discomfort when one is concentrating on something that requires a lot of thought. This assists the effort made to concentrate.

We must now consider the group of senses that derive impressions from the outer world. It is obvious when considering the development of speech and language, for example, that this requires more than a sense of hearing. The individual has to learn to discriminate speech and meaningful language from mere sounds, and ultimately to recognize the ideas and concepts underlying what has been said or thought. These senses for words or concepts require the development of a true art of communication and are dependent very largely on the individual's environment. A little thought will show that they are increasingly at risk today with so many instruments of mechanized communication available.

Another sense – awareness of the reality of another individual is a fundamental necessity for the whole of life.

Emotional Development During the First Year

Enough has already been said to show how essential physical contact, sensory communication of the right quality, and a judicious amount of stimulation are for emotional development to take place. This is

emphasized in the problems which are presented by children with sensory deficits. Both deaf and blind children need special efforts on the part of adults to establish alternative routes of communication.²¹ 44 Children with a 'defective' central nervous system, however, and with intact senses, generally have no difficulty in forming emotional relationships, indeed their loving, accepting, and uncritical nature can make their care a joy.

Everything, of course, depends upon the reception which the parents and family give to the new arrival. If he was eagerly awaited, lovingly prepared for, thoughtfully provided with a suitable place in the home and in the family routine, he has a flying start. If, in addition, he is an expected and accepted inconvenience to his parents, there need be little anxiety about his early emotional development. However, despite assertions to the contrary in articles in magazines and newspapers, the inconvenience which a baby can cause, particularly to a well-settled family in an orderly home, requires a tremendous effort at adaptation by both parents if there is not to be a constant undercurrent of tension, resentment, and ill-concealed impatience. Babies are inconsiderate, physically totally demanding, anxiety provoking, and very disrupting to any well-laid plan or carefully organized arrangement. They are entirely preoccupied with the business of being, growing, and learning, and are outwardly as demanding of their mother after birth as they were parasitic upon her in the womb. To be a mother or father to a small baby is the deepest human challenge for a human being. It is a task without visible reward, a giving without any tangible return, an interruption of a well-planned life without rhyme or reason to it, a merciless, unrelenting emotional demand. Unfortunately parents are usually quite unprepared for this aspect of parenthood and can find it a very threatening experience. It is necessary that less sentiment and more realism should enter teaching on this subject, so that the new parents do not feel inadequate and guilty about their way of grappling with an entirely unexpected situation. They can then develop their affection for their baby on an honest and realistic foundation, instead of constantly feeling that they do not measure up to a mythical standard and never will. One of the most distressing experiences today in work with families in difficulties is the often quite unnecessary sense of guilt and inadequacy of the parents. It undermines their self-respect and their confidence in themselves. It also robs them of authority with their children. Often when parents are said not to care, this attitude has really grown out of

resignation under an intolerable burden of parenthood for which no one had prepared them. It is time that this situation is put right.

Not only is the mother's loving and giving to the baby important, and her establishment of communication with him; the father has as important a role to play, both in loving his baby and in supporting his wife physically and emotionally during the first trying months. The baby, through his intimate attachment to his mother, can immediately sense her state of emotional well-being or anxiety and reacts accordingly. It is often said by an exhausted, depressed mother that she hides her troubles from her infant—but this is an illusion. The infant can sense and responds to his mother's true emotional state. This makes the father's support and help doubly important. Not only can he restore the mother's self-confidence by his loving support of her, he can also separate the two overwrought partners in the 'nursing couple' at times and give them each a chance to cool off after a tiff or battle.

The Further Development of the Infant after One Year

Once the baby can walk, there is a less obvious division between the muscular and sensory development as increasingly the one depends upon the other. For this new skill to be successfully established the baby must have a sure relationship of mutual trust and communication with his parents and others around him. He must trust them to give them his hand to help him to try to take his first steps. The next exploration which the infant usually undertakes really concerns the space around him (Fig. 3). He begins to experiment by putting himself, or his head into various postures—looking through his legs, lying on his side, or leaning over, head back, until he almost topples (Figs. 4–12). In these gyrations he is really exploring the three dimensions of space, and his own posture within it. Towards his second birthday he is also beginning to run and then to jump, although not yet with the gay abandon to movement that comes later. After about 2, he begins to exercise his skill in climbing (Figs. 13–15). It is useless and harmful to restrict him; better to make climbable things safe, put bars on windows and block those which cannot be protected, and an unclimbable gate both at the top and the bottom of dangerous stairs. These must, of course, be kept shut by the family. Tragic accidents occur from falls out of high windows, or tablets or medicines eaten although supposedly out of reach, or from burns and scalds

because the baby's activities had not been anticipated or allowed for. For this reason, this is a most dangerous age, with a tragically high injury and death rate.

The baby also begins to imitate those around him, particularly his parents, after the age of about a year. This is a quite instinctive learning function proper to this age, and it is the means by which the most fundamental habits of reaction are acquired. If the surrounding adults are anxiety-ridden, tense, fussy, it is extremely unlikely that the child will not pick up this behaviour and become tense and anxious too—indeed, as has been said, a mood of anxiety conveys itself even to the newly-born infant. Hence it is difficult to judge whether the behaviour patterns of an individual, which seem to be characteristic of members of his family, are inherited or merely acquired very early in life by imitation. If a child is to grow up disciplined and warm and interested in people, then he can begin to learn these attitudes at this early age by imitating his parents' self-discipline and courtesy and loving interest in each other and in him. If he is surrounded by disharmony and strife, it is completely unrealistic to say that 'he is too young to notice'. His whole body, which imitates everything done around him, notices, and so his behaviour will reflect his perception of violence too.

It is important that the baby's skills should be able to develop further. He needs the opportunity of exploring not only his surroundings, but also the different textures and qualities of matter, water, sand, surface colouring, soap, dough. He is constantly making new entrancing discoveries, wanting to repeat his experiments and observe more. Suitable play space and materials must be available, otherwise unsuitable ones will be found and used by the child, with disastrous results. This is an essential part of the work of learning and growing and cannot easily be stifled. The exploring also applies to food and drink, hence the tendency to 'mess about with his food'—which is an important stage in learning about it. Mixed feeding is introduced in this country some time after the third month as a rule. A fully mixed diet is usually established by 8 or 9 months when at least a few first teeth have erupted. At this stage the child loves to touch as well as taste his food, and so to become acquainted with the different flavours that go with different colours and textures.

At this period, a person's attitude to food throughout life can be determined. He either may learn to enjoy each meal as an adventure in flavours, after eager anticipation, or else the table becomes a dreary

battlefield, with neither mother nor child the victor and both dreading each new mealtime more than the last. Some children are difficult with feeding through their own nature and temperament but many more become difficult because there has never been a peaceful family meal in their experience. It wrecks enjoyment of a meal to be expected to 'hurry up and finish because mother has so and so to do'. This applies even more strongly to infants who have had to be institutionalized for some reason. It is characteristic of children who have been subjected to this kind of regime that they gobble all food greedily and rapidly in an apparent conviction that if they do not, someone else will get it—even if it is the pig-swill. This seems an anxiety unnecessarily added to an already over-burdened child, and enlightened nurses and house-parents will avoid such mishandling at mealtimes at all costs.

There is in the author's view no good reason why children should not have a new deal over the question of meals for them, why they should not enjoy peace and friendliness with their diet, and even be permitted their likes and dislikes within reason. It seems quite unnecessary that food, which after all is the child's birthright as much as is the air he breathes (at least according to our welfare maxims), should be such an instrument for punishment or reward, for torture and discipline, that it tends to become so misused by adults as an instrument of power. It seems a very feeble substitute for true adult authority, and parents and teachers who make use of such a weapon can only end up by totally losing the child's loyalty and respect in later years. It is upon these apparently trivial matters that habits and attitudes in later psychological and emotional development are largely based. The fact that they are obvious has not so far led to any constructive change in general habits. They are therefore worth stating again.

The Development of Language and Speech

These are really two separate functions and it is important to realize this. As has already been described, the baby and his parents (particularly his mother) develop a mutual language of their own which is perfectly comprehensible to themselves. This desire to communicate, and closeness to a person with whom communication is possible, is the first prerequisite for further progress in language development. The baby soon adds a variety of sounds to his noises of

crying and grunting. These are mainly vowels, 'Eheh—ahah'. Soon consonants are added, and by 3-4 months sound play is well established. The sounds continue to become more varied and complex and gradually they begin to be infused with more and more intentional meaning, until by 8-9 months a real negative response is achieved by the baby, sign language, vocalization, and meaning all coinciding. He begins to use gesture more and more, expressing every passing inner whim, desire, or mood with ever greater accuracy and finesse. He also begins to understand a little more of the content of verbal speech rather than the old visual language. One day he discovers that imitating the sound and motions of speech can lead to a new form of communication. This is the next essential milestone for speech development and in some cases of failed speech development where children are brought for treatment during later childhood, this point must again be reached in a treatment dialogue with the therapist before the child can begin to learn or relearn speech.

The child needs the development of an inner language to be able to begin to think at all.^{36, 77} He begins at 8 or 9 months to respond to words, and by 1 year to try and say a few simple syllables. After this, there is a widening of naming and of identifying by name, which by age 18 months-2 years progresses to simple statements of fact, including an elementary use of verbs and adjectives.⁹⁰ (A 2-year-old was watching his mother mending something and heard her say that something 'might do' for the purpose, his comment was 'might don't'!) However, the *inner* language, which is built up out of what the child hears, will be very much richer in content and experience by this time, *provided* that he has heard real talk or conversation around him in the family, and not been exclusively exposed to the nonsense syllables of baby talk or the one-sided mechanical conversation of television or radio.

After about 2 years, the child begins to experiment more with words, and as such, they become his toys. He makes up new words and he begins to play with the skills of speech as he did previously with his explorations of the dimensions of space and his own body. In this process, words may be reversed by him; a telephone becomes a tefalone, hospital hostile, Eva Uffi, then Fuffy—so nicknames can arise. This is again a very important learning-play activity, and it is quite out of place to stop the child by demanding correct speech. If he hears correct speech he will eventually speak correctly himself.

As simple sentences are put together—usually in the form of questions to an adult or older child or in the form of factual observations—enchancing nonsense emerges, e.g. 'Daddy why that man go walk on car?' from a child watching someone roller skating, the inflexion of language long preceding the order of syntax of words. 'Are we going to tea yesterday?' is another example. The child also begins to identify himself more clearly, as his skill in self-expression and self-control matures. A 2-year-old at his birthday tea named everyone around the table correctly, but when it came to himself his name was 'birthday'—by 2½–3 this misidentification would no longer be possible. By this age the child who has been so closely and intimately tied to his parents becomes aware of himself as having a separate identity from them. A phase of tantrums and defiance may precede this point in development or sometimes it comes upon the family unawares. One day the infant says 'I want that, it is mine'. From this point his own identity begins to be known to himself, his inner life closes off more and more within itself, and his inner language becomes less and less easy to read. It is still far in advance of his motor skill in expressing himself in speech for several years, however, and this may lead to temporary bursts of stammering or hesitation when he is trying to express something of particular importance to him.

From this point also the emotional development gradually becomes an inner secret process, hidden within the child, and only his reactive behaviour, whether serene or disturbed, can give a clue to how he is feeling if he is unwilling or unable to tell about it in words. He depends more and more upon actual speech for communicating his feelings to the adults around him. In his play, however, and in his joint activities with other children, he still continues to use action and sign language for several years. It is only in the eighth year that most normal children begin to use speech in conveying ideas (as against instructions) to another child.⁴⁷ Throughout these years, therefore, the inner language is far ahead of the child's capacity to express himself in words. As language attains increased meaning, it in time becomes a guiding factor in the child's further intellectual development.⁴⁶ The build-up of the command of language and speech is normally only complete by about the seventh to eighth year.

Looking back over the tremendous distance which the child has traversed from his embryonic existence to his first independent assertion of himself, it seems incredible that all this can be achieved in so short a space of time. While the stages of development broadly take

place in the order described in all cases where there is no physical impairment of the brain, which is the organ regulating this whole process, the full flowering of each stage and maturation of the child through it, with newly acquired skills, depends upon an intact and emotionally healthy environment. Emotional upsets as well as germs can make a baby ill, difficult to feed, impossible to sleep with, and later unable to think coherently. Sensory deprivation or injudicious overstimulation can interfere with the normal rhythm and co-ordination of the developing faculties and skills. It is as unwise to leave a baby for hours on end in a hygienic cot in a glass cubicle, with nothing but a white ceiling to stare at, as it is to prop him up and constantly stimulate his interest and attention, disregarding his need for rest and privacy. The deprived baby fails to progress; the overstimulated baby becomes chronically discontented and restless. The safest guide to the needs of a particular baby is his own communication with his mother or nurse. If he is allowed to build up this intimate sign language, it becomes easy enough to understand his wants. This is more useful than fixed schedules and programmes for the individual infant and his mother, although of course such schedules (and chapters like the present one) aim to provide a useful general guide.

The baby is far from unaware of his surroundings, particularly of his emotional environment, and the earliest physical and emotional handling of him will have the most far-reaching effects upon his character. As mentioned earlier, it has been shown that the way the baby is put to the breast at the first feed after birth may pinpoint a feeding behaviour pattern which is maintained for ever afterwards, whether difficult or easy, struggling or placid. Lorenz³⁵ has shown the importance of the process of imprinting in the development of behaviour between animals and their young. It is known that at various stages of psychological development in children, there is a learning readiness for certain skills, although not much is as yet known about these stages. If undesirable material is learned, if ugliness, chaos, and mental squalor surround the child, he will in turn absorb and take these as his standards in life for what is acceptable. If he has cheap and hideous toys and only comic style books, or indeed no play-things or books, in the house, this can also become his accepted pattern for the whole of his future life and that of his future family. Efforts to teach such a child to read may be vain, unless he can be brought into contact

with the different standards and ideas of a loved and trusted teacher who he knows is accepted by his parents.

What surrounds our littlest children gives them the pattern for what will be acceptable as their world. Thus there is great danger that snobbery is perpetuated, both among those who have abundantly, and those who have not, and that arrogance and egotism on all sides may prevent real co-operation for the betterment of the lot of the children because situations and needs are judged subjectively by personal feeling and experience, and not on their merits. 'It was good enough for me, so it's good enough for them—I made good, didn't I?', and the speaker usually also implies that failure to make good under such circumstances indicates mere weakness or lack of moral fibre inherent in the individual, like assessing a badly bred horse. There is no language that can convince narrow-minded conviction based on a subjective judgement; no argument that can be offered to convince a mind that can only measure everything in terms of its own habitual attitude.

It will be seen in this and the further chapters in this book that each age of childhood enables the individual to lay the foundation for what is to come, and that without this foundation further healthy development in the emotional and intellectual spheres becomes impossible. At the stage of life considered here, the need for each phase of development and its acquired skill to be fully experienced must be patently obvious, as must the futility of disciplinary measures to deal with situations that have arisen out of a developmental need, e.g. the tantrums of a 2- or 3-year-old. It is hoped that the inevitable consequence will be drawn, and that future planning for family life will include safer play and exploration areas for very young children, and arrangements to give their parents a reasonable chance of some rest from their very demanding youngsters, by means of more half-day creches and play groups. More realism needs to be introduced into the preparation for family life and responsibilities of teenagers at school and young parents seeking advice and guidance. More efforts must be made to convince the doubters of the importance of this age group, so that more money can be spent for them in providing adequate facilities. Unfortunately, most people seem only to be able to remember back to their fifth year, which may be one reason why pleas on behalf of this younger group of children are not taken seriously by administrators. Yet the pre-speech years are the most vital in child

development and events then have the most far-reaching future consequences.

Chapter 3

The child between 3 and 6

Time of Magic and Omnipotence

It is a marvellous though exhausting experience to watch a small child of this age group at play. This is a time of unique freedom for him. When he is an adult, though making decisions that lie in his power, he will be tied by responsibilities and obligations in such a way that he can be really independent of his surroundings and obligations only in his *thinking*. Now he is free not only to think, to imagine, but within limits of safety, to *act out* his fantasies in his play. The instinctive imitation of those surrounding him, which takes up so much energy in the younger child, up to the time when he begins to have mastery of speech, now emerges only occasionally, its place is taken by an omnipotent giant, a magician, at whose command everything, including himself, instantly becomes something else. A cardboard box is a boat, then a hat, then a car or train, and then a house, all within 5 minutes. Nothing is allowed a rational role, all objects that the young magician encounters immediately become something else—that is if they are allowed into his magic castle at all. The clumsy adult must be careful not to destroy this web of magic by stupid and tactless intervention, as immediately becomes obvious after watching such a kaleidoscope of life around the child for a time. It is a world which we adults have lost, and we can only regain understanding of it to some extent by sympathetic intuitive insight and faithful non-interference. We can, however, foster or destroy it by the kind and quality of the toys the child is given, or allowed, to help him in his play. These can encourage imaginative, 'magical' use, or they can make it impossible, in which case they are often broken or discarded after a few minutes. Too-perfect reproductions of real-life objects, particularly plastic imitations, are often

condemned to such a fate. So are the intricate mechanical toys, which have only a limited function by their design and nature.²⁴

We can find songs and stories which increase the child's natural friendship with his everyday surroundings. These may be about the animals or insects and the flowers that he sees, they can even be about the furniture in his room or the sun and the stars, the water, the rain, and the wind. We can just as efficiently cut him off from all of this, his real world, by showing and telling him abstractions, e.g. stories about non-existent 'creatures', complex impossible tales of adventure in never-never land, entertainment thought up by adults with the best intentions, but quite unrelated to the child's actual living world. There is certainly a time for such stories in later childhood, but at this stage they can only induce a feeling of impotence and unreality, as the child has as yet no yardstick of reality by which he can judge them. A lot of fears and nightmares at this age seem to be related to such injudicious mental nourishment. The other way to danger, that of stifling free activity, is through unsympathetic restriction and prohibition. Here, of course, the near disastrous housing conditions to which the majority of young families are condemned, the lack of soundproofing, of play space, of nursery facilities, and the poor quality of neighbourhood feeling between families which can be induced by living cheek by jowl in high blocks of flats, without anywhere for social intercourse to replace the lost doorstep on to the street, all help to disable the young mother from either being a real play-companion or allowing her child free independent play. The consequent restriction of imaginative activity and developing manipulative skill can be a serious handicap, delaying the child's further progress and development, as infant school teachers know to their cost.

This is the time when the child must be able to question and experiment with the use of materials, when he needs to become able to master the qualities of matter—sand, water, malleable substances, colours, and sounds. Under present conditions, almost total restriction in this field of exploration and developing skills is imposed on the majority of our children within their homes. As a result, they grow through this phase without being able to work through to a skilful mastery of line and form and without acquaintance and control of the different media for self-expression. When the child comes to school he should already be using manual skills in joint play in groups led by an adult, and needs to have mastered the individual skill necessary for such joint activity. These are then developed and guided further by the

infant-school teachers, so preparing for more formal systematic learning in later years.

There is a similar potential difficulty with learning the further use of language. Between 3 and 6, the child begins to ask questions about everything he meets, as well as about life itself. Quite apart from the need for adults to answer these conscientiously for moral reasons, this is a necessary exercise in the skill of conversation which leads somewhere. If the child does not have the opportunity of such real conversations with his parents and other adults, even though such conversations may be quite brief, he tends to give up trying to make himself understood, and, of course, he also gives up trying to understand what adults are saying to him. He then comes to school prepared not to listen and not to contribute.

In a highly verbal society such as our present civilization, which depends almost entirely on reading and writing for understanding itself, children from a cultural background which uses little speech for self-expression and communication, whether they come from a deprived area or from a home with busy, inarticulate, professional parents, start with a grave handicap. While they have learned how to express needs and actions in nouns and verbs, the qualifying elements of speech, which enable a verbal description of an event or idea, and abstract comments, tend to be absent from their vocabulary. To compensate, nursery and infant schools, which take in children from such a background, have had to develop all sorts of play techniques where verbal meaning is conveyed to the children through different kinds of sensory experience—the difference in the feel of silk and velvet, the redness of many different red objects, the sparkle of glass, crystals, diamonds. Such descriptive words which qualify use of language and convey a series of modulations in communication rather than mere bald facts, are taken for granted in the sophisticated use of language, but are beyond verbally deprived children. This preparation of an appropriate conceptual framework is necessary before they can even begin to take in the meaning of the words of a fairy tale told or read to them, let alone reproduce, illustrate, or write about it.

It must also be obvious what a useful educational medium drama is for children from a very early age, and how easily they can use this, with the help of adults, to develop language and communication in actions long before they can manage a formal conversation. This applies to tea-parties at home just as much as it applies to nursery and

infant classroom techniques, where, of course, this medium of teaching is well known.

The way in which a young child gradually masters an outer medium can be studied, for example, in his use of watercolour—when he is left quite free to explore the medium at his own pace. Once he can command the brush, and keep the colour clean if he wishes to, he indulges in surface after surface of pure shining colour (Plates I–III). If he feels sad, upset, or insecure, these may go dark or brown during such a time. Following this acquaintance with colour, many children proceed to colour themselves, i.e. cover their own skin with the paint. After a while they return to the paper and begin to organize the colour into forms. These may be circular, as is also described by Bender,³ or grid patterns, or both. At first, after the child has produced a form, this may then be covered over so that unless the process has been observed by somebody else the result appears to be the same as before, i.e. a flat surface. This is the first imposition of his own motor skill on an outer medium by the child. It has been found by close and careful observation in the author's clinic work that this achievement often coincides with the beginning of word formation and also with the start of sphincter control, so that he becomes competently dry and clean at this time. Most normal children have completed this phase by age 3 or 4. Gradually, after this, form and direction begin to emerge more and more clearly out of the colour surface (Plates IV–VII). They are not representative of a picture as we expect it, but usually take a spiral or parallel direction, i.e. he begins to impose movement in space on his brush, and produces the fundamental directions which can be taken by a line or movement in space. Soon the child also begins to produce his first 'pictures' (Plate VIII), and turns the resulting dots and dashes on the paper into all kinds of things; their actual form usually bears no relation to their meaning. It need not, for he has magic which suffices for the process. If we cannot see his magic, it is we who are blind. On no account should these first attempts be mocked or corrected. If we are not willing to 'read' his writing, why should he later want to read ours? It is equally meaningless and irrelevant to him.

Later, as forms come more under his control, he begins to make pictures in the more conventional sense and show something he wants to say, and so by 5 or 6 (Plate XI), quite spontaneously, his products acquire the appearance of houses, boats, letters, or figures. He progresses quite naturally in this way through mastering a medium of expression, telling what he wishes to express in it, showing what he

wishes to express through it, and finally beginning to conform to society's conventional means of self-expression. In the process two entirely new skills appear. First, the skill of making a picture and then the skill of writing. These two skills are intimately related in the evolution of writing by mankind as a whole—another reminder of how the child from the earliest embryonic existence figuratively recapitulates the whole evolution of humanity within the child as an individual.

Outer Experience

This, the second half of the first epoch of childhood, is also the time when the world and the child can meet each other for the first time without intermediaries. During the first period up to age 3, the child normally only experiences the world as mediated to him by his parents or by those adults who take their place; without this mediation, he could not grow and thrive normally, might indeed die. Now, however, he has, up to a certain point, become master of the situation. He can move independently, and, within limits, he can choose where to go. He can express himself in a simple way in speech and he can think or rather puzzle himself about what meets him, question us, and react accordingly. He can also begin to manipulate his environment in accordance with the dictates of his own imagination, as we have seen, though this is determined by his degree of skill and a great deal of frustration may accompany his early efforts, requiring sympathetic and tactful help. In a way he has become the prototype of adult man, exploring and discovering and naming his world and beginning to modify it according to his will. The little child up to age 3 explores the three dimensions of space related to his position within it. Now, at 3-4 years, he begins to explore its outer quality; he runs forward, losing himself completely in this experience—and so becoming a menace on a busy road. He climbs, up and up, 'Look at me!', and one's heart stops. He gradually also learns left and right, and he learns with increasing skill to balance and manipulate the parts of his body and limbs to an ever finer degree. The gradual mastery of the paint brush just described is a typical example of this progression.

The gradual mastery of space, and one's own body within it, with increasing refinement of skill in movement and manipulation of the limbs, is a vital function of this period of childhood.

Inner Experience

During these years, the child undergoes his first crisis of identity. He has become aware of himself, now he needs to identify the role or part which that self must play within his world. He also begins to try and understand the roles played by each parent, brothers and sisters, and other family members—grandparents, uncles, and aunts. Serious conflict situations can arise if there is lack of clarity among the various adult family members about their individual contributions. If there is a tendency on the father's side to opt out of making an active contribution to the life of the family, the child will build his picture of life without including him in it, except possibly as a shadowy figure. Research has shown that this can have disastrous consequences later; for example, a large proportion of delinquent children have grown without a father taking any active part in their scheme of life. The idea of 'father' simply does not convey any reality to them; it does not correspond with anything they have ever experienced and so rings no bell.² On the other hand, the mother may misuse her feeling for her child, through misidentifying it, or because she is unhappy or dissatisfied in her marital relationship. She turns to her child as a source of emotional, perhaps even sensual satisfaction, without being in the least aware of what she is doing—feelings, as will be discussed presently, are mainly subconscious and can be powerful motivations to actions which clear reason would reject out of hand.

Another hazard is that the child finds himself in no-man's land amid a battle of the generations. Many a young child has come to grief, and the parents' marriage landed on the rocks, because he has learned that the role of grandmother or grandfather is to contradict everything that mother or father says. By precipitating such a situation a very entertaining drama of feelings can be initiated in the family. He can get his own way by means of this tactic. It is quite essential that the members of the family, and also anyone who may be involved with them—whether they are neighbours, doctor, health visitor, or social worker—should be clear about their function and the part they play in the family identification. Less anxiety is felt about 'minding one's business' when a family is found to be in need of help, and there is less risk of developing an injudicious style of personal involvement with the members of such a family if the nature of the roles and the manner of role-playing of its members is clearly assessed and constantly borne in mind during case-work with them.

Another experience which gradually dawns on the child during this time is the realization that earthly time is not a perpetually recurring cycle but something going from a past into a future. During the first 3 years, he moved unquestioningly from the 24-hour cycle of feeding and sleeping to a diurnal one; his biological clock became adapted to terrestrial time. Now, parental mediation and interpretation of the implications are absolutely essential. 'Daddy, what happens when we die?', 'Mummy, how did I begin?'—questions of this calibre belong to this period of childhood. They need answers for many reasons. As mentioned previously, the child must not come to think that all questioning is a merely derisory occupation best left alone—or he will not wish to learn what the teachers offer him at school. On another level, he must not be left in mid-air with no solid ground of belief, of faith in life to stand on, or he may become a completely unattached person. Most important, however, is the fact that these questions need answers to give the child an understanding of the life around him. They are his first attempt to learn about man's experience of his world, more specifically of his parents' experience of it—their total real experience, not their theories.

With the dawning sense of time, there also begins the first experience of memory. This takes a dreamlike quality where essentials are highlighted momentarily, but continuity is not maintained. This is yet another aspect of the whole subtle process of psychological development, of the increasing awareness of personal identity in the child which, during the course of his development, matures gradually to full adult self-consciousness and independence.

The early form of memory is not a function connected with intellectual effort, but something giving a new kind of continuity to experience. Memory, of course, is shown in manipulative skill long before it appears in mental imagery; the baby has 'learned' sitting, standing, walking, talking, and he does not need a daily dose of supervised exercises to remind him of these skills, provided that he is in a normal environment. He has also learned other complex motor skills by his capacity for imitation; as mother's housework continues around him, mothering a baby brother or sister, eating 'properly', being polite to people, etc.—this is a motor learning process as natural to young children as breathing, as has already been discussed. Ideational memory is something quite different, however, and can only arise in the child who has become aware of himself as a distinct, experiencing being. It is fostered by the mother who sits by the child at bedtime and quietly goes over the adventures and

misadventures of the day with him. In her pointing to tomorrow to look forward to, and working through the past of yesterday, the child gradually finds an anchorage for his own personal life history. If one looks at the child's development of a sense of time and then considers the total lack of awareness of time and personal history which can be found in some permanently institutionalized children, one obvious and important practical measure, which can mitigate their chronic sense of inadequacy and lack of identity, leaps to the eye. It is so simple that it seems strange to mention it, yet it is fundamental and, of course, many child-care workers practise it constantly. This is that whoever has any regular contact with such deprived children, whether they are relatives, teachers, foster parents, or official 'aunts and uncles', or even child psychiatry clinic staff, they can help the children by making them constantly aware of the continuity of their own relationship with them, and of the individual child's personal history within the relationship.

Such children are well known to be 'accident-prone' where personal relationships are concerned. Their parents have usually rejected or deserted them. Sometimes they have unknown brothers and sisters, and their own origins may be shrouded in mystery. They are emotionally insatiable and appear ungrateful because their earliest needs had never been met. They are destructive of their own and other children's treasures, maybe because of a sense of impermanence and feeling that treasures are dangerous to emotional life as the loss of them can hurt unbearably. So it is better to destroy them oneself.

In the absence of a sense of the value of ownership the way is paved towards delinquency. Lacking any feeling of personal importance, they can learn to 'get by' fending for themselves in a completely antisocial way.

A sense of personal identity, of personal history, can bring a modicum of hope and self-respect at least to some such deprived children, even though they may never really recover from the feeling of inferiority which their parents' rejection had engendered within them. While some adults who grew up in institutions subsequently built a satisfying family and working life²⁵ others are never able to do so, and the curse laid upon them by their parents' actions is perpetuated in their children's lives in a most tragic way. It is difficult to cope with these emotional cripples by any normal effort of human caring and the children in turn are unable to respond to affectionate advances in any 'normal' fashion. This results in the repeated rejection of the children by foster parents or by houseparents who, as they cannot eject the children, tend themselves to seek a new post. Added to this, there is

usually a succession of child-care officers who each in turn becomes responsible and takes charge of the growing file. Each may only know the child and possibly some of his relations for a year or two however. In this situation, it is quite vital that the child himself should retain a sense of personal history. He must have the opportunity frequently of going over his personal adventures and misadventures with either a houseparent or the child-care officer of the moment. He must be able to build up a 'file' in his own mind of himself and of his life, his past, and, most important, his future. A child can only look confidently into the future if he is securely in possession of his past, and only this confidence can induce a delinquent deprived child to change his defensive antisocial ways.

Rejection, and a consequent lack of experience of past and future because their 'present' is a constantly traumatic experience, is also one of the most important factors in the lives of some emotionally disturbed children. One reason for their rootlessness and inability to form stable attachments can be found in the consequent lack of a sense of identity. Work with all such rejected children must include a great deal of repetition either of the story of events which have been important to their personal life or else, if this is too painful, of shared experiences. This applies especially to those experiences which have left a sense of positive gain or achievement with the child. This is an extremely difficult undertaking, particularly for staff who work in institutional settings where there is a poverty of experience. For example, an attempt for each child to write a diary of his own in a class at a special boarding school for maladjusted children had to be abandoned, because each child was describing the same events and so their personal deprivation of individual experiences became all the more obvious. A full and inspiring description of therapeutic work with disturbed children in a residential setting is given by Bettelheim.^{5, 6}

The need for provision for the individual differences among children in an institutional setting, of course conflicts strongly with the staff's anxiety to provide equality of treatment at all costs. In a good institution, where the staff found no problem in allowing for the different appetites of the children in their care, they became extremely anxious when one child seemed to need extra blankets; they found it difficult to give him an extra one when he felt cold at night without giving one to all the others. However, it has been found in practice that children feel more equally and fairly treated, and in fact more secure, if these individual differences are catered for by the staff. If one child

hides in the linen cupboard because he 'feels cold' at the advent of new houseparents, it is not necessary to provide the children of the whole institution with extra blankets to help the one feel 'warmer'.

Well-wishers who intend to be helpful to deprived children and to the devoted overburdened staff who are trying to help them, would do well to think how much they could achieve by a regular and reliable undemanding contact with such a child on the accepted 'auntie and uncle' basis. Too often there are sudden invitations for Christmas or a massive series of parties and junketings in an unknown environment. The staff, who have been looking after them throughout all the tribulations of the year, have probably themselves been preparing and looking forward to Christmas together with their charges. Without intending any offence, such offers 'for Christmas' by people who never think of the great need of deprived children during the rest of the year, sometimes sound as though they were being made for an inmate of Battersea Dogs' Home. To be helpful, they must take into full account the child's estimation of his own identity and accept his need to give, and be a person, as well as being a recipient of kindness, however well-meant. It is really in giving that a person finds his most convincing assurance of personal self-expression.

Once self-awareness has been reached, and only then, it becomes possible to cognize and think about—remember—what happens to and through the self. Much later, this power of memory will have grown from its first primordial beginnings to a reliable structure which can produce sustained pictures in answer to the effort of recall. It can then become a major instrument in the processes of conscious learning. The learning problems of emotionally disturbed and deprived children who have normal intelligence can be more easily understood once the emotional origin of their memory handicap has been grasped.

From the first stirring of imagination through the omnipotent fantasies of the 4- and 5-year-old, the road leads to a new change in the life of ideas of the child. After the sixth birthday, as a rule, this change becomes obvious to an increasing degree. He begins to be able to detach his imagination and ideas from actual objects of play-material. The sequence of development in painting described earlier has already shown the corollary of this. The child can begin to depict more and more coherently what he has a mind to convey.

Piaget has beautifully illustrated this stage in its outward phenomena.⁵² Steiner described it and its physiological components in

many educational lectures.^{61, 66, 67, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 83} According to his description, during the first epoch of approximately 7 years the child's energies are mainly engaged in the forming and organizing and mastery of his own growing body. These energies are characterized by Steiner as formative forces, and he attributes a different dimension to them from the physical substrate upon which and within which they act; it is particularly the biochemical and growth functions which are grouped under this heading by him. Once the physical organization of the child's body and its neuromuscular functions is complete, usually between the ages of 6 and 7, the child's energies or formative forces which were involved in the process become available for other uses by him, and enable him to form pictorial thinking. The signal for the completion of this first stage, and this redirection of the child's inner energies, Steiner maintains, is the advent of the second dentition. It is interesting that the maximum rate of post-natal growth and development of the brain also takes place during the years up to 5 or 6.^{85, 86} As has been stated, the child now begins to be able to separate a perceived object from the idea about it, i.e. he can think about the object without needing to see it or manipulate it, he can form a mental picture of it. This is a very important change in the thinking ability of the child and quite essential if he is to learn to adapt to the requirements of modern Western civilization, especially reading. If Steiner's description and Piaget's findings are correct, and there is no reason to doubt them, it is very important that this new step in maturation should take place without the strain of demands for premature performance, just as it is important to run in a new car engine before attempting virtuoso driving. The child must be helped to master the new faculty of abstract thinking which is beginning to appear before being challenged to use it, just as earlier he needed the opportunity to master physical skills in peace before demands were made to display results.

The child now becomes dependent on the intuitive understanding, wisdom, and knowledge of the adults around him for his further inner development. He can no longer show us, by his loud demands or persistent questioning, what is the nature of the help that he needs in order to fashion his conceptual faculty into an instrument for realistic, constructive, creative thinking, fit eventually to cope with the problems of modern life. The process is an inner one, and unless the adults are prepared to listen and take part with the greatest care, it eludes them altogether.

So during the first 6 years, the child gradually acquires the skills for managing a more formal, outwardly orderly life; he becomes socially competent and ready for school and eager to explore the next land which lies within his sights.

Two other aspects of child psychology, which become very important from this time, were pointed out repeatedly by Steiner.^{62, 66, 67, 68, 72, 76, 77} They are of great practical importance, and what follows here and in the next chapter is the author's own personal reinterpretation.

Sleeping, Dreaming, Waking

In Steiner's view, the adult carries all these three forms of consciousness in his 'waking' life. He describes man as being fully awake only in the faculty of conscious thinking. Tracing this faculty back to childhood, one can see that up to the sixth year, there is a gradual emergence of consciousness from a state of total sleep to a state where the child is aware of events but still needs to hear about them again and again if they are to make any impact.

It will be seen in Chapter 5 that from about 5 to about 9 the child lives in a state of consciousness where, in normal circumstances, imagination and magic still play a vital part, where day-dreams have the force of reality, and where harsh reality is still fended off. At this period the child enjoys a rich experience in imagination, which has the strong impact of reality and conscious reasoning appears only in flashes if at all.

After about 10, the child finds himself separating from this vivid world of imagination and this is partly because his reasoning faculty has awakened. He still daydreams and imagines for a large part of his waking life—and during these periods he is quite inaccessible to appeals to his reason or 'sense of responsibility'.

He can now begin to grasp ideas of cause and effect and very slowly to exercise the new skill of applying rational thinking to what he meets in life around him.⁵⁰ By 12 he can grasp a logical exercise and, for instance, manage Latin grammar, or the laws of physics, and thoroughly enjoy learning them. He has gradually become more and more thoroughly 'awake'.

During the physiological processes of puberty a great revolution in consciousness occurs and a new, highly critical faculty appears which

the girl or boy can use to devastating effect. There is a corresponding tendency to blindly impulsive behaviour which is unconsciously motivated. He or she must now learn to control and use this new critical faculty constructively and to win conscious understanding and command over their intense impulsivity. They must be given a commensurate sense of individual responsibility and trust, otherwise they may drift after every passing fashion or slogan in a dreamy, half-hypnotized state, and find outlet for their impulses in irresponsible gang activities. These may include experiments with toxic and hallucinatory substances and of course the very dangerous solvent abuse. They should not be allowed to lapse from school into some dead-end job, and fritter away the rest of their youth in a situation where their full adult faculties cannot hope to unfold.

Teaching techniques should be appropriate for children at their different ages and be in harmony with the respective level of consciousness which is dominant at each. Up to age 5 or 6 the main emphasis should be on body movement and the healthy, unforced development of the senses. Thus nursery games, singing, and opportunity to imitate adults are the best means of education at this time. From 5 or 6 onwards, the child can be approached more and more by teaching which appeals to his active imagination, mainly through making mental pictures for and with him by means of words, as by storytelling, although, of course, the earlier artistic activities continue. He can learn mathematics, writing, and reading through his capacity for forming pictures. Indeed, reading is best learned through what he himself has written. Letters grow from a picture, mathematics from the discovery of numbers (parts) within a larger whole. There is room for more experimenting with school syllabuses. New methods can lead to great economies of effort on the part of the teachers and children if this learning material is adapted not to the child's supposed simple 'level' but to the quality of consciousness with which he meets his teachers at the different ages and stages of development.

With regard to the adult, the waking 'dream state' as described by Steiner⁶⁶ is found in his experience of feelings, and, therefore, also in his reactions, whether in thinking or in activities and interrelationships which in turn are determined by his feelings. A very similar realm is described by Jung²⁸ when he writes about the personal unconscious. While feelings are by no means fully under our conscious control we are usually able to become conscious of them. They can, however, become an unpredictable motivating force in the actions and

reactions of adults, as has been shown again and again in the work of every psychotherapeutic school of psychiatry.

The adult is regarded by Steiner as being figuratively asleep under normal conditions of health in all those physiological functions which take place within the body and which relate to the metabolism both in the digestive tract and its glands and in the musculo-skeletal system. Pain in these organs is an awakening. He pictures these processes as being the source of the expression of human individual will. This idea occurs in the colloquial expression 'he has guts', used about someone who pushes a project through with determination against all odds.

In bringing up children, both in the home and outside it, means must be found to do justice to the healthy development of feelings and to the disciplining of the ebullient will-forces. The child should not be driven hither and yon by the uncontrollable impulses which arise from the unconscious reservoir of activity. Sports and physical exercise provide one useful means for this, given that they do not themselves become exclusively a controlling power, outside instead of within the children. Dancing, music, and artistic movement and, in a rather different medium, the many forms of craft-work, make a vital contribution to this particular task. Accuracy, as well as artistry, helps to train the child's will; to be accurate a great deal of effort must be expended. Regular repetitional practise of a skill, or, alternatively, regular tending of flowers or pet animals, even if inconvenience is entailed, are among the activities on which control of the impulsivity inherent in the young child can be built. They can lead eventually to self-discipline, as against reliance on external control.

There is another aspect to this way of looking at levels of consciousness in children which is of practical importance. So far the whole process of development has been discussed from the point of view of waking life; it could equally well have been described from the point of view of the sleep life of the child. Once the process of maturation of consciousness is looked at in the way just described, the sleep needs of tiny children become more understandable. Severe insomnia in a toddler, for example, may be caused by unusual emotional strains in the family. In the author's experience such a symptom, if persistent, may mean that there is severe strife between the parents, even though they may make every effort to disguise the rift in their marriage. In other cases, sleep disturbance may be due to a depressive illness which originates in the child.

Sporadic waking at night begins in most young children after about 18 months, with the beginning of attempts at speech. It seems that from about this time, but certainly after age 2, more children dream. It would seem that the little children make pictures out of their words and these can cause them to be frightened quite badly. Sleep and waking are never far apart at this age, and toddlers have an enchanting habit of nodding off among their treasures in a warm bundle.

By 3-4 the day/night sleep-waking rhythm predominates, only a few children need or enjoy a midday nap or rest, and they are unlikely to drop off in the day unless they are unwell. The 6- or 7-year-old can occasionally describe some of his dreams, i.e. he can differentiate them. He also begins to be able to learn by 'sleeping on' something.⁶⁶
⁶⁷. ⁶⁸ Learning takes place much more satisfactorily if the teacher recalls learned material after 2 or 3 days, rather than immediately after giving it. Studies with adults in the processes of learning also have shown that sleeping on learned material gives better results in the long run than does a method of learning by immediate recall.⁴²

This can be taken a stage further. Normal children can quite safely be left to 'forget' a subject for several weeks, or even terms, but if it is to become useful to them in their lives, it needs to be recalled at the right time and in the right way by the parents or teachers. The most apt illustration of this need is in the way that children can occasionally arrive in their secondary school apparently illiterate. There may then be a feeling among the staff that the primary school have failed in their job. However, an examination of the facts of the situation will generally show that these children *were* taught to read and write—it is merely a question of finding the right techniques of recall to reawaken the dormant skills. It is necessary to bear such needs in mind, not only in the training of teachers but also in the arrangement of syllabuses, so that there will be a continued connection between the lessons of one school year and those of the next.

In adolescence there is often a repudiation of sleep—it seems such an unnecessary activity for someone who is now wide awake in his reasoning and who has a great urge to master and control his whole life. This may be one reason for the attraction which stimulant drugs have for children in this age group. It is certainly a contributory factor in the problems they present by staying out late at night and refusing to go to bed when the family does. This is one aspect of 'teenage' problems which requires further study.

Chapter 4

Temperament and personality

So far the development of children has been described in such a way as to demonstrate some of the very many aspects in which this can be helped or hindered by the people surrounding them, and by the circumstances in which they live. This was intended to highlight the dangers and opportunities implicit in modern life, and the way we live it, as it impinges upon the children. Such a one-sided view of the situation can be very misleading by itself. The child's personality, intelligence, powers of sympathy, and antipathy to the people and things surrounding him will not only modify these in turn, but will also influence the quality of the impact which they have upon him. This aspect must next be dealt with. For many reasons it comes most conveniently at this point in a description of child development.

When discussing the individuality of a person one must be clear about the aspects which are being considered. There has been a great deal of study of this subject from many different points of view. Sheldon⁵⁶ classified people into physical types, and was able to link certain behavioural characteristics with physical aspects. He described three basic types, the ecto-, meso, and endo-morph, and physical and behavioural characteristics were attributed to each. These are most easily distinguishable when the extreme expressions of the 'types' are concerned. His 'ectomorphic type' of person is said to be inclined constitutionally to 'nervous overactivity', while the 'endomorph' is said to be of placid disposition. This linking of physical characteristics with mental attributes was carried a great deal further by Kretschmer,^{33, 34} who developed a theory of behavioural characteristics, and of mental illnesses associated with types of physical build.

This field of study in psychology is, of course, a very ancient one. Greek 'psychology' took physiological characteristics to be synonymous with behavioural ones in their sanguine, melancholic, phlegmatic, and choleric types.⁵⁴

Today when we characterize a person by using one of these systems we have the additional question to consider: how does this individual use his characteristic gifts and difficulties? We are much more concerned with the expression of the individual's ego through his physical and behavioral type and the way in which these disguise who the individual really is. In other words, we are concerned with freeing ourselves from classification and developing our individuality.

In older civilizations only the recognized leader of a group was permitted to use initiative; individualists were regarded with suspicion, and indeed were often in mortal danger as 'heretics'. The leaders of these ancient civilizations were usually regarded as acting under divine inspiration so that even their initiatives, with very few exceptions, lacked the qualities of individual leadership which were to be shown in later times, notably in the Greek, Roman, and Judaic civilizations and since.

Qualities of individuality have remained suspect until the present day in all those settings and situations where people regard themselves as members of any particular group. However, taking a general historical view it becomes clear that since Graeco-Roman times there has been a slowly but steadily increasing premium upon individuality and distinctive, uniquely individual initiative, both in the historical tradition and artistic heritage left by these and more recent civilizations.

Historically speaking, it is not long since 'heretics' were burned at the stake, but such a fate is becoming less likely as individual differences between people become more tolerated and accepted. Today it is probably true to say that group behaviour which extinguishes individual initiative and judgement in the members of the group runs a grave danger of developing pathological features. Group or mass behaviour in modern times is generally a reactionary development. It is interesting that when considering mental illness one can see that behaviour forms which belong characteristically to such an illness cause a certain kind of likeness to each other, and loss of individual spontaneity in patients. One of the very important factors in the treatment of mental illness is the cherishing and support of the individuality of the patient throughout, so that this possibility of

individual spontaneity is not permanently lost or destroyed by the ravages of the illness and institutionalization.

Two lines of research have been recently pursued which have endeavoured to demonstrate the way in which environments can influence individual personality and vice versa. The first is typified by the studies of Stott,⁸⁴ who classified types of parental caring and the types of results and problems these were likely to produce in children. The second is typified by the work of Professor Chess⁵³ and her co-workers, who have, for example, been able to follow through a group of families in a stable community and to study the behavioural characteristics of their children through from birth. A quite different kind of classification of what is designated by this group as 'temperaments' has emerged, which is concerned with the personality aspects of the personal individuality of the child. These studies are also particularly valuable in demonstrating the impact which a child with an incompatible temperament can have upon his family. It is obvious that such a situation can lead to serious emotional trauma and difficulties, the parents in a sense becoming the victim of their 'difficult' child.

One can also look at the whole span of a human life from the point of view of the temperamental characteristics imposed by the different ages of man (see Jaques in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*). Each of these ages imposes certain features of behaviour or temperament upon the individual. The infant and toddler, prone to swift explosions of anger if frustrated, constantly demanding attention, and liable to sudden emotional storms, can be described as showing a choleric type. The storms abate as swiftly as they arise, although able to cause physical concomitants such as wetting and soiling as well as mere tears. The sanguine disposition appears in the ever-hopeful, adaptable, sociable school child living for the day and caring little for the hidden tomorrow, cheerful and eager to please. The rebellious adolescent, furiously demanding reform of the world immediately, refusing to be bound by requests for conventional behaviour, impulsive in action, feeling, and ideas, ruthless in idealism as in his dealings within interpersonal relationships, is once again showing a choleric type of behaviour, and this gradually merges into acceptance of the need for compromise, and recognition of the shadings of values, as adulthood approaches. The adult on the whole is inclined to consider his decisions carefully before acting on them, his acceptance of the world as he finds it is tinged with a certain scepticism, he has learned to

compromise and to adapt. If these latter characteristics have not developed, then regardless of age, the individual's behaviour is still juvenile or adolescent in quality. Creative artists have retained these more youthful qualities, as have idealists and reformers; they colour their behaviour as well as enabling them to remain creative. Psychopaths also retain these earlier behaviour patterns, but usually lack the creative personality, the inner spiritual source, which would, if it were there, enable them to make use of these juvenile qualities in a constructive way. Ideally we should all be able to retain some of the general qualities inherent in each stage of development, and so remain adaptable and creative throughout life, instead of relapsing into the rigid routine patterns characteristic of middle age—and of the melancholic type of temperament.

Old age characteristically brings with it acceptance, tolerance, and an ability to observe without personal involvement—characteristics which can be described as phlegmatic in quality. Wisdom, benevolence, the capacity to give without needing any return, these all belong to this period of life, but these are qualities which depend upon the individual's evolution, or his particular personality, and this in turn has been influenced for better or worse by his surroundings. The capacity to remain creative, give spiritual leadership, wise counsel, become a real teacher and valued adviser to the younger generations, depends in part upon the quality of education and up-bringing which that personality experienced in his younger years, on the way, for example, in which his efforts at individual creative play and artistic achievement were allowed or encouraged in his childhood. It also depends, of course, upon the individual's special gifts.

Throughout life, the individual makes an impact upon his surroundings according to his stage of development. Steiner comments frequently upon this subject, particularly in discussing child development. He points out that during childhood it is necessary to take temperamental characteristics into account whenever one is dealing with an individual child, whether he is alone or in a group. This is, of course, a statement of the obvious; it is his advice on how the temperament is best handled that is at first startling to those who take a disciplinary rather than a therapeutic view of education and upbringing.

Steiner^{62, 68} also describes the general temperaments of different ages as above. He puts these within the context of his concept of man as a spiritual being who, during childhood, finds himself first in his

physical existence, and then gradually in his spiritual existence, with the gradual awakening of self-consciousness as he increasingly relates to other individuals in ever-widening circles and to the things and tasks in the world. He describes development in the first years of childhood as a process of the gradual adaptation of the inherited physical organism by and for the (spiritual) personal individuality to suit its needs. An increasingly important influence upon the individuality comes from his home and physical surroundings, modifying this psychophysical development—for better or worse—until, after puberty, the individual's own personality gradually takes on the predominant influencing role. The rebellion of the adolescent against the efforts which those surrounding him make to modify and mould his personal behaviour further, becomes more acceptable when looked upon from this point of view.

In the first years there is total involvement in growth and development. By age 5 or 6 a more differentiated pattern of behaviour and physique begins. The general appearance of children of this age bears a more individual stamp than infants and toddlers do when seen in a large group, although, of course, they have strong individual characteristics on closer acquaintance. During the course of this psychophysical development in childhood, Steiner describes the emergence of the juvenile temperaments between the ages of 5 and 7. He regards these as physiologically determined and as brought about by the process of psychophysical integration described above.

These juvenile temperaments characterized by Steiner are a concept which grew out of insight and experience. In his use of the term he means the habits and attitude governing the child's approach to things, e.g. the inert non-participating response, or rather lack of response, of the phlegmatic child, the sensitive, withdrawn, pondering in depth on any point, of the child with melancholic characteristics, the ebullience and impulsiveness of a choleric, and the charming, attention-seeking, responsive behaviour of the more sanguine type.

It is very important when making use of Steiner's comments on this subject to realize that he was not describing what he regarded as the individual personality (spiritual individuality) of the child, but a developmental manifestation which he considered to be as much physiological as psychological in origin. According to him, the temperament developing at this age (5-7) is potentially a hindrance to the child's further development of a free individuality, as it may, if it is brought to persist into adult life by mishandling, obstruct his true self-

expression. Such mishandling consists mainly of efforts to *discipline the child out of* habits which are determined by his temperament, instead of using more constructive techniques which will *help him to grow through* it.

Thus the use of the word 'temperament' in this context is to describe behavioural characteristics which are not at this stage connected with the individuality of the child in the way this word is used by Chess and her colleagues, but with broad groups in which normal children can be categorized at this age. It is interesting that in his research on conditioning, Pavlov found four broad types of physiological functioning among his dogs, which are not dissimilar in general reaction pattern to these physiologically based temperaments in young school-age children.⁵⁵ Steiner's purpose in describing these temperaments in children in such detail at this particular stage is to demonstrate that their behaviour often stems from this, rather than their true personality or individuality. However, *he does not regard the juvenile temperament as something to be cured or eradicated by therapeutic or disciplinary counter measures*. Rather he uses the concept to group children in activities and in classroom situations so that they can mutually benefit each other by supplying their various qualities in the whole class structure. He also points out that teaching techniques must be differentiated according to the requirements of the children's temperamental characteristics, as well as their individual capacities. Thus, while the phlegmatically inclined children in a group require waking up before they can be taught something new, the sanguine type children in the same group need to be helped to retain what they will have grasped immediately. The children with a tendency to withdraw from anything new require careful preparation to accept new learning material, while the explosive, restless, impulsive children sometimes need to blow off steam before they can settle down to take anything in. Punishing any of these children for difficulties arising from these characteristics not only will not improve them—it tends only to confirm their behaviour, as this is caused by their whole organism, and they cannot modify that by efforts of thought. Demands for such efforts can only make things worse, adding emotional problems to those already posed by a distinctive temperament. Thus this is an assumption which has practical implications for the constructive handling of primary-school children even up to puberty.

The later clear emergence of the personal temperament of the individual during and after adolescence is something different from

what is described above. Here self-discipline to prevent the dominance of the temperament over one's actions has to be progressively learnt as part of the process of emotional maturation. This individual personal temperament colours the more general temperament of the younger children described above, and occasionally predominates. It has been interesting to observe that in clinical practice, while a certain number of children are referred for psychiatric help because of behaviour which turns out to be due to a strongly predominating temperamental type, true emotional illness in primary-school children can extinguish all traces of a juvenile temperament, leaving the personality, as it were, stripped bare of general behavioural defences. It is obvious that, where difficulties do arise, a careful differential diagnosis must take temperament into account if emotional or psychiatric illness in a child is suspected.

To make this differential diagnosis clear, a broad outline description of each juvenile temperament now follows. It must be remembered that normal children all have a mixture of behaviour patterns, sometimes one, sometimes another predominating. It is this mixture which is truly called their temperament. Problems arise where there is a marked tendency for one type of behaviour to predominate more or less constantly.

The commonest behavioural type to be found among children of primary-school age is the sanguine. They are bright, chatty, cheerful and friendly, and eager to please. Curiosity and interest are readily aroused, but attention may be fleeting, and interest shallow. The child is 'normally' ill-behaved—i.e. somewhat distractible, tends to leave things unfinished, and chatters too much. He may be somewhat troublesome because of attention-seeking behaviour. Such children are sometimes described as 'hysterical', but this word carries ominous overtones which are usually inapplicable, as they sober down with increasing maturity. Their attention-seeking, however, must be met with care and sympathy if a sense of deprivation is not to supervene.

In situations of emotional deprivation the characteristic shallowness and adaptability of this temperament can make treatment very much more difficult. A large number of 'inadequate' delinquents of primary-school age seem to have a sanguine temperament, and this may persist into adolescence as a necessary defence, whereas under normal circumstances of emotional security it is usually lost by 11 or 12. They carry on in Micawber fashion, hoping that something will turn up, without really getting a grip on any situation, including the challenge

presented by leaving school and finding work. If the processes of maturation can be stimulated in these young people they may, through the help of sympathetic yet demanding friends, gradually lose this 'childish' behaviour, and grow into responsible adults. Sometimes the stress produced by the demands of society may induce such a maturation; more often, however, a chronic situation of mutual retaliation tends to be set up. Such youngsters then become unattached, unapproachable, and a serious problem to themselves and society.

It is usually less successful to discipline the sanguine child than to give him a wealth of short tasks within his attention-span, which he is able to complete, so experiencing the feeling of achievement. Their range and complexity can then gradually be extended. A disturbed child of sanguine temperament is reminiscent of a mildly brain-damaged overactive or hyper-kinetic child, or of a child with a hypomanic illness. The distinction must be carefully made, as the needs of all these groups are very different. The brain-damaged child does well if he is taught in a situation where sensory stimuli are reduced and distraction avoided; short, simple tasks being given one by one which gradually train his attention and concentration to function more adequately.¹⁸ Both the brain-damaged hyper-kinetic and the hypomanic children require medical supervision and treatment. On the other hand the sanguine child benefits by ample stimulation and, although the impact of many sense-impressions may appear to distract him at the time, they meet a real need in his psychological make-up. Physically, sanguine children are often lightly built, active, and graceful.

Those children who tend to a phlegmatic type of behaviour as their predominating characteristic can be recognized by their lack of initiative in changing anything in their surroundings or themselves. This is also shown in their work and play. They will accurately produce anything factual that they have absorbed, e.g. a map of their classroom, but are found to be apparently incapable of spontaneous initiative where a creative contribution is required. If they are brought to laugh they may continue to giggle on helplessly long after the joke is over. They rarely become angry or upset. Such a child can drive his seniors to despair by his lack of response to punishment, which he is constantly attracting by being unable to modify his behaviour in the way required by them. Other educational means need to be used to help them to change.

Some phlegmatic children crave food, and they may become obese because they tend to be physically, as well as intellectually, inactive. However, it is essential to remember that most obese children are probably not obese because they are phlegmatic, but because they have learned to treat food as a sedative for anxiety. Dieting will certainly help an obese, phlegmatic child, but it may bring on even more problems for an obese, anxious child unless there is concomitant help for his anxiety.

Another difficulty may arise where a phlegmatic child behaves as though he were of dull intelligence, or where a dull child may appear as though he is merely phlegmatic. Skilled psychological assessment is required in order to contribute to the differentiation of these conditions. They require entirely different handling. Whereas a dull child must be gently led on at his own pace, a phlegmatic child may not really get into a 'learning' gear until he has been aroused to a state of enthusiasm which is sufficient to make him long to learn.

Once his enthusiasm and loyalty have been aroused, a phlegmatic child can become a true leader within a group. His temperament makes him steady and reliable and, in this case, there is no need to distrust his enthusiasm.

It is useless to punish a phlegmatic child for his failures. This merely establishes another routine without altering his general pattern of behaviour. The whole day must be planned for and with him and his parents, so that the routines themselves carry him on from one task to the next. He must be kept alert and expectant in lessons. At home he should not be allowed to stagnate in front of a television set, but should be made to contribute to the family's activities.

It is easy to confuse the concept of a melancholic child with that of childhood depression, and for this reason 'melancholic' is an unfortunate term. These children are not depressed, but they take life the hard way, brood and ponder about things, and can become withdrawn and upset if faced with any unexpected challenge or strange situation. Often they cannot manage to go to parties or outings; they may look forward to such an occasion for days or weeks and, at the last minute, develop nausea, tummy ache, or just 'nerves'. It may be impossible when the time comes to induce them to go. They are not merely shy, however, as, when well-prepared and supported, they can discuss or produce a piece of work in the classroom as good as the best. They do, however, easily give up in a struggle and require a great deal of warmth and sympathetic encouragement from parents and teachers to allow

them to give of their best. While they tend to opt out of any group activity if given the chance, standing always on the sidelines, melancholic children usually have one or two constant friends who continue to remain their close companions over the years.

Physically, children of the melancholic type tend to be thin and somewhat narrow-chested. They have a solemn appearance but are able to smile and be friendly once they feel that a real contact has been made. They need to be differentiated from children who have a depressive illness which may be masking a quite different temperament. If there is a clear-cut history of a personality change following some event, this distinction is not difficult to make; but some children develop a depression insidiously, and in those cases the differentiation can be very difficult, particularly as a melancholic child is often prone to changes of mood. Depressed children are unable to laugh and smile warmly; melancholic children are not usually tearful as depressed children are, except when they are under strong emotional stress, e.g. if they feel themselves to be under scrutiny in a group.

From the above description it must be obvious that disciplinary measures and demands sprung on him 'to get him used to it' can only make a melancholic child very much worse. He must not, unless inevitable, be confronted by unexpected demands, unprepared either by the family or the school, until he has acquired sufficient self-confidence and awareness to be able to deal with such situations. The problems arising from this temperament can be overcome in the course of time given preparation, warm support, and sympathy, and, above all, the recognition that his difficult behaviour does not stem from intentional awkwardness. It can be seen that such a child needs a feeling of close relationship with an adult who is important in his life. A teacher can very well take such a place granted that the relationship is not interrupted by the changes caused through the child's moving up from class to class.

Truly choleric children are relatively rare, but once met are unmistakable. Some choleric children are stockily built, with a fiery look in their eye; a few red-haired children are choleric. One such child used to fall almost unconscious on the floor if he became enraged, and in order to recover required prolonged nursing on the teacher's knee. Long after he had grown beyond these tantrums, and had been advanced to a secondary school, he continued to visit the staff who had helped him. Such outbursts of rage are interspersed with bubbling activity, so that the child is rarely sufficiently at peace to take anything

These pictures were painted by a child in the nursery class of a Steiner school where she attended between the ages of 5 and 6 years.

They are spontaneous creations.

The titles were appended by her later when she was asked about them.



PLATE I MAY 1967



PLATE II JUNE 1967



PLATE III JUNE 1967



PLATE IV SEPTEMBER 1967
A Christmas tree.



PLATE V OCTOBER 1967



PLATE VI JANUARY 1968

This could be the sea and the shore, and a little path.



PLATE VII JANUARY 1968



PLATE VIII FEBRUARY 1968

It might be a pond — no, I think it's a whale.

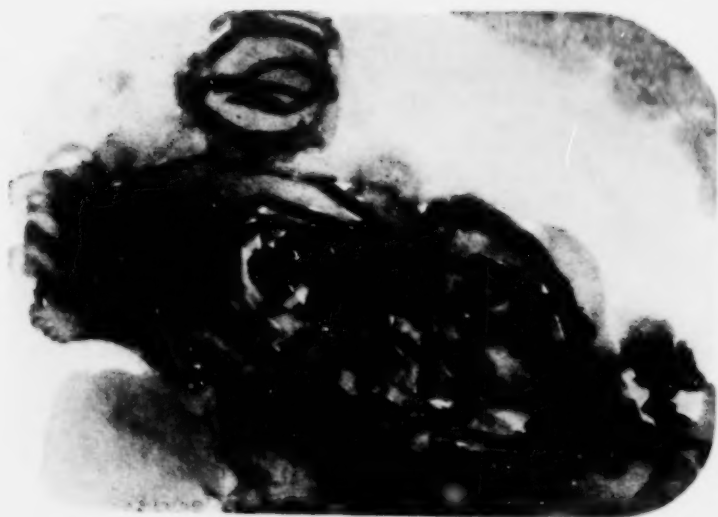


PLATE IX FEBRUARY 1968
A giant.

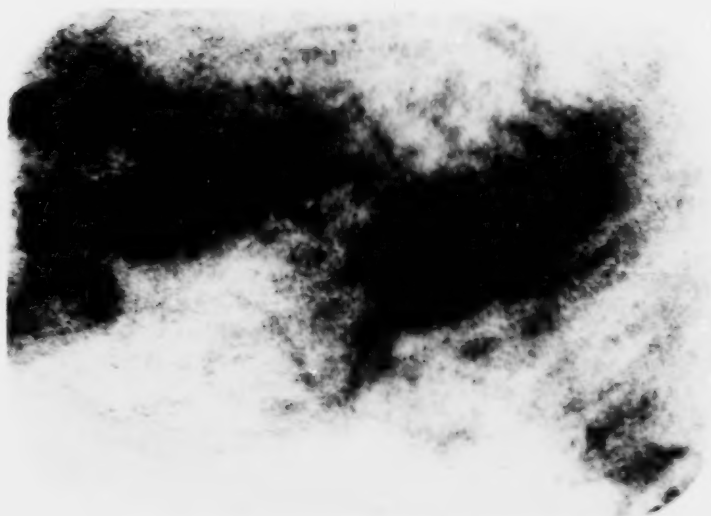


PLATE X JULY 1968



PLATE XI SUMMER 1968
Houses with stars shining on them.



FIG. 1
Mother and her infant aged one month.



FIG. 2

Visual communication between mother and infant.



FIG. 3
A toddler looks at the world.



FIG. 4

FIGS. 4 - 12
Exploring the three dimensions of space.
experiments in orientation and in manual control.



FIG. 5



FIG. 6



FIG. 7



FIG. 8



FIG. 9



FIG. 10

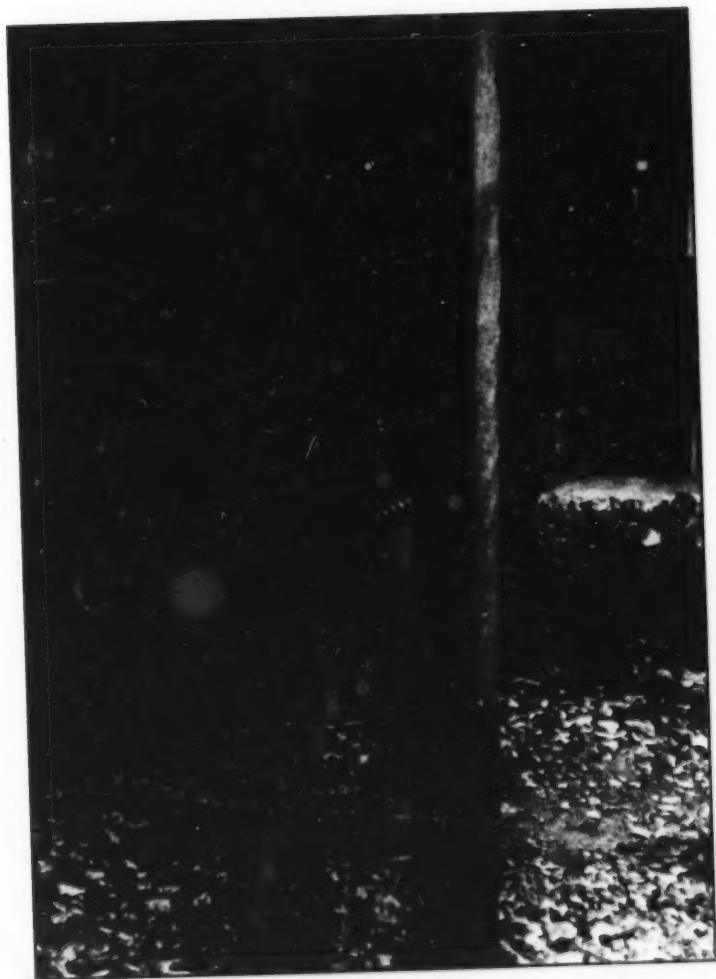


FIG. 11



FIG. 12



FIG. 13

FIGS. 13 - 15

At $3\frac{1}{2}$ balance and orientation in space are fully developed.
New fields can now be explored!



FIG. 14



FIG. 15



"Bubbles"

in. They are children who form a perpetual storm centre in a group, and a constant focus of trouble. The explosiveness does not usually arise from any actual ill will on the child's part in contrast with the aggressiveness of some antisocial children. It may arise without instigation. After an outburst, which may indeed be accompanied by destructive behaviour, the choleric child is shaken and contrite. He can then recapitulate, if helped, the stages of his outburst, and if the process of recounting is repeated often enough it may help him gradually to gain control over himself. He will also benefit from the opportunity to repair or make good any material damage which has come about through his outbursts.

As has been said, the behaviour of the choleric child must be differentiated from the aggressive outbursts of some antisocial depressed or antisocial deprived children. The history usually differentiates the two problems sufficiently.

The management of the two is, of course, entirely different. Both require understanding. The aggressive maladjusted child, who has learned to hit out before being hurt, needs security, containment, and help to form stable relationships. The choleric child needs to be safely 'detonated' from time to time before a major outburst should occur. He can, for instance, be given a few hard 'jobs' to tackle: urgent messages, heavy baskets of milk bottles to carry, some difficult acrobatic feat in physical education, or whatever is judged to be appropriate to the child's situation and capacity. During periods of calm he can be tractable and teachable, and, in time, these periods will be found to extend more and more.

Much more could be said about the handling of the problems presented by these temperamental characteristics both in the classroom and in the home. Steiner went into great detail with the teaching staff of the first Waldorf School, particularly with regard to the preparation of lesson material for presentation in suitable ways to overcome the various kinds of resistance to learning presented by each, and to turn these resistances to good use for the benefit not only of the individual children, but of the class group.⁶⁸ However, for the purposes of this short text the above must suffice.

It must be emphasized yet again that the juvenile temperament is regarded by Steiner as a stage in development and differentiation of the individual personality, which grows through this stage to more and more distinct personal expression. Steiner's concern was that the free development of the individual personality should not be permanently

hampered by the persistence of those behavioural characteristics which should only be present at some intermediate stage. Any attempt to eradicate behaviour which has the essential characteristic of a juvenile temperament can exacerbate this form of behaviour and establish it as a fixed habit in the child.

This concept appears to the author to be of sufficient interest and potential importance in its implications to be more fully studied in the works of Steiner.

This may be a useful place in which to consider the effect of the child's developing thinking, feeling and will.

A brief description of the outer stages of behaviour development in childhood has now been given. A later chapter will describe the physiological changes that underline the childish temperament. Here we will consider an aspect that is related to both and to some extent interdependent with them, but requires separate study.

Many philosophers and psychologists have attempted to describe human behaviour in terms such as cognitive, or active or effective, i.e. determined by emotion. We will describe them as capacities of thinking, of feeling and of will. We can be struck by the unbridled forcefulness and drive of the pre-school child; in all his stages of development there can be seen a powerful quality of will. This is expressed in the perseverance he shows in learning speech and language, even in his persistence in learning to stand and walk. For these he needs assistance, but no urgency. Coaxing him to do these too early, before eyes or balance are ready, shows a certain adult tendency to interfere with the child's will forces. Even at this stage it is important to safeguard the infant's autonomy in the correct way.

The expressions of will which take a negative form begin to be accompanied by reactions of feeling. These gradually predominate as the child can give them voice and speak about them. As with the management of temperaments in childhood, hostile and negative feelings can develop if the child's will impulses are unreasonably thwarted and the foundation can thus be laid for a pointless adolescent rebellion.

An impersonal experience of feelings is gradually defined in the growing child during later preadolescence. Many attempts have been made in the past to drag on these feelings into what adults regard at the time as an acceptable form. These may be team games of the rougher kind, cross country runs and other physical activities for boys, and increasingly for girls in the name of equal sexual opportunity. It is

not realized that this way of dealing with a possible problem in fact reinforces hostile feelings and links these more strongly to the hostile will than before. This could well have a bearing, for example, on current gang warfare that breaks out so readily among groups of youths who masquerade under the guise of football fans.

The post-pubertal adolescent, having overcome his rebellion to some extent, may show evidence of direct and lateral thinking. The danger is that this is detached from the reality of his experience and becomes a refuge from it.

It is necessary that responsible adults should at all stages pay attention to this aspect of development and respect the emotions evinced by the youngster, at each stage bearing the whole process in mind. The aim should be to develop the feeling or effective forces in relation to thinking at adolescence, so that the previously will-bound feelings are liberated and can mediate will impulses and thought impulses in a moderating and harmonizing way. This enables the individual to govern himself with free and temperate judgement in any situation.

Chapter 5

Children from 7 to 10

From about the age of 5 to 6 years children have begun to want to collaborate and communicate with each other in direct play. By 6 or 7 some have begun to look for mutual interests and to form real friendships. Allied with their thirst for knowledge there is a tremendous capacity for fantasy and imagination. Where the younger child manipulates play materials (and for that matter any other materials) to his individual fantasy, and only meets his fellows briefly in action games, the child now loves dressing up to act some scene. The playing of the part has become one of his toys. He drinks in stories and makes them a part of himself, of his thought structure, and can live by them for days on end. He still has the magical faculty of making living pictures for himself out of all that he hears and these pictures have absolute reality for him.

This faculty can be used to great advantage by his elders as a potent educational medium. Anything which touches on this imaginative fountain of his experience, lives and grows with the child for the rest of time. This is why crime and punishment at 6 or 7 are so different from what they are before or afterwards. The child of 4 onwards who has done wrong will accept a statement to this effect from a trusted adult. But *why* it is wrong usually remains incomprehensible to him. If he has learned not to trust any adult he will not really be concerned about any of this, but will pursue his actions at his whim in a totally unsocial, egocentric fashion. The 6- or 7-year-old will accept the verdict of a trusted adult, but the way to make a child of this age feel that he would not like to commit a wrong act again is to let him make acquaintance with the situations to which his actions can lead, e.g. in imaginative pictures drawn in his fantasy by telling him a story about it. Such a

story can be invented to fit a particular case, or can be found in a good fairy-tale collection. It must not directly present the offending situation, but must evoke the feelings which the situation contained in an imaginative way. For example, a group of animals could be the protagonists in a parallel imagined situation.¹ This is a remarkably effective technique, which has far more lasting value for the child's moral and social education than maxims repeated hundreds of times. The adult enters the child's experience at the same level of consciousness as his own. For example, if a misdemeanour has been committed, such as an incident of bullying, it is certainly possible to deal with this on a disciplinary level by forbidding a recurrence or by threatening or meting out punishment. Alternatively it is possible, by means of a story, to get the offender to identify with the victim and to feel his unhappiness, fear, and despair. The sadism and cruelty or bombast of the bully can also be brought home in this way. Such a tactful but compelling representation of the total situation can 'cure' the child more effectively than a 'talking to' or retaliating discipline.⁶⁸ By such means he can learn to feel for his neighbour in a quite unobtrusive way. Retribution becomes positively rather than negatively educational, and indeed therapeutic. The supreme model for this educational method is to be found in the parables of the New Testament.

The child's imaginative gifts can also be abused to poison and warp him for the whole of his childhood; perhaps for life. Children from 5 onwards are particularly susceptible to pictorial representations. It is this which has led to such a large output and consumption of comics. Unfortunately while some of these comics can have educational value, children are not at present sufficiently protected from the impact of entirely unsuitable pictorial material. This is a sphere where public action so far has lagged sadly [credit must be given to the late Dr. Simon Yudkin and others for instigating action which led to the Children and Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Act 1955. This Act, however, has not proved to be a sufficiently powerful instrument to control traffic in undesirable literature], possibly because adults, who are generally not so directly accessible to pictorial material as children are, find great difficulty in understanding the disastrous impact which horrific and sadistic or cruel pictures have on children in this age group. It is the very acceptance or even enjoyment of these productions which is so worrying. The imagination of the children becomes caught by the stereotypes presented which leave them no room for imaginative manoeuvre to modify the pictures presented.

Such effects are difficult to measure and prove statistically, a fact which commercial interests are not slow to realize. If the children are to remain free in their imaginative capacity, pliant and adaptable, and therefore to be able later to react with individual initiative, it is very important that their imagination should not be caught and fettered by stereotypes of any sort. The impact of absoluteness blocks the inner mobility of the imagination, and so makes the child's picturing faculty a prisoner of a limited number of conventional images which, moreover, are distinguished by their ugliness and violence.

Returning to the child's own growth, a new level of conscious thinking is reached when words can be used as a means to express ideas and feelings, which the child is beginning to be able to formulate within himself.

It is common experience that a subtle change takes place between the sixth and eighth years in children who are developing normally. In some, it is sudden, in others it happens so slowly as to be scarcely perceptible. Just as the infant's learning to sit, stand, walk, and talk are usually naively taken for granted, so also this new change is often allowed to go by with scarcely a nod of acknowledgement. Yet it is the vital prelude to all further learning. For the first time the child is able to think about something without actually having to have (lying before him) the object about which he is thinking. It is at this time that he begins to form inner ideas, which are an extension of his consciousness. He also begins to picture something in his imagination without needing to make a concrete picture of it. Ideas as such begin to dawn for him. Piaget⁴⁷ differentiates between monologue, collective monologue, and dialogue. He reports that children do not use speech to communicate with each other in social converse before the age of 7 or 8. They use speech first as a toy, as has been described in an earlier chapter, then later as part of play, e.g. to give their mates instructions how to join in and what part to take, but not as a social tool until this time.

From about the seventh year children have a real need of some adult outside the family who will be their guide, friend, and model representing the great world beyond their home. They need a new intermediary to make the world comprehensible to them and to help them to work out the inner experiences which their wakening intellectual faculty brings, in addition to their parents. With the new feeling for doing together, for social intercourse and collaboration, the need for a supportive, understanding adult interpreter increases. The

children at this age quite naturally form a school group. They trust and believe their teacher, and can form an intimate rapport with him. Parents sometimes find it irritating to have the teacher quoted against them, but such an attachment is vital for the child if he is to learn to form healthy relationships with people outside his known family circle. Failure to develop such outside attachments or an interest in learning about the world may be due to emotional immaturity in the child, and needs special investigation by the school together with the parents. In the school situation, with normally developed children, it is they who want to learn, to experience, to grasp all the new impressions which can pour in upon them from the world as they waken more and more to receive them. The adult must deal gently with this dawning intellectual effort, as teachers well know. It is only at its beginning, and can no more stand a rough intellectual attack than a seedling can stand unprotected exposure to all the rigours of a winter season. Close study of the child shows quickly enough what is beginning in him at this time, and the kind of care which is appropriate.

Here, for the first time, the prevailing culture threatens to impinge directly upon inner development, in a way that could not happen before the child was receptive to its influence. He becomes directly exposed to the habits of self-expression and social converse which are current in his particular community and he needs to express himself in those terms, to be understood and accepted by them. Luria³⁷ showed that acquired speech patterns have a direct influence on behaviour. There have been interesting researches recently into this particular field of social life in this country, and some very interesting phenomena have been uncovered.⁴ Different communities tend to use language differently.

One kind of community tends to use language in concrete form and conventional phrases to describe events and objects. Inner experience, ideas, feelings, problems, or pleasures, are not voiced in language or rather in speech by this section of the community. The feelings are there, and the ideas, and they form a strong undercurrent to the forms of social and working life, but it is not the habit for this group to put them into words. If they are put into words to members of this group by someone outside it, this tends to be met with suspicion or contempt, because it is not appropriate to the accustomed pattern of their use of speech. The other half of the community make prolific use of words, and run the danger of sounding hollow as a result.

It becomes increasingly a challenge to use words, whether written or spoken, in such a way that the whole community can accept and understand what is meant by them. These two different uses of language tend to be at least partially class-bound in this country, but there are also geographical differences. Anyone who wishes to work, in a different setting from that where he grew up, must make sure that he learns the habits of communication, i.e. the 'language' of the community in which he will find himself. Otherwise misunderstanding is quite inevitable despite good will and the best intentions, for the same words may easily convey an entirely different meaning among representatives of different social groups.

Unless there is outside intervention, a child naturally takes in exclusively the cultural heritage of his parents. It is therefore in the primary schools that true educational equality within the land could begin, if it were possible to establish a use of language, i.e. words, which is acceptable and common to the whole society within the land, and which is not rejected by some as being representative merely of a special cultural group. It is useless to polemicize about equality of opportunity, about the need for improved communication between people, about healthier social relationships, if there is a fundamental and persistent divergence in methods of self-expression between two groups of members of our society. This is particularly so if each side is not conscious that completely different meanings may be attached to the same words by the other. Real education leads to an increase in consciousness, and an extended awareness of meanings of words is part of this consciousness.

It is not the acquisition of the skills of reading and writing that makes people equal—it is the ability to use language in whatever form, to communicate with each other as human beings and grasp each other's 'meaning'. And this is being recognized more and more clearly now in the work in primary schools in this country, where more and more speaking, describing, telling, and listening is being done in classroom teaching.

Steiner^{67, 68} insisted on the telling and retelling of stories by teacher and children, not only because the content of the stories can have educational, moral, artistic, and human value, but also because, in learning to retell the stories bit by bit to each other, the children can learn to handle their mother tongue as something which becomes an instrument of social communication obedient to their will and inner need for self-expression. Out of this social use of language in the

classroom, the quite natural next step of *wishing* to write can then arise, or be coaxed out of the children, and then of *wishing* to read what someone else has written. The hearing of the speech spoken by the children in the classroom setting quickly pinpoints for the teacher those who are struggling. The difficulty may be there because the children are still immature, or, alternatively, because they have a speech or language difficulty (which is often accompanied by writing and spelling problems). A third reason may be that something is badly wrong and here there is need for outside help in diagnosis and treatment.

This use of language must not, obviously, be confined to school or the child leads an unreal, divided life, and slumps into misery and loneliness in the holidays. At home too, in the shops, when visiting, the youngster longs to exercise his new skill, and to add to it. He likes to 'show off'—and should not need to use this as an attention-seeking mechanism, plaguing all and sundry who are too busy, selfish, or preoccupied to listen to him. We should be much more ready to listen and partake. After all, what are we busy for if not to make life more tolerable for those coming after ourselves?

The tremendous imaginative power of children at this age has already been touched upon, and also their obvious consequent vulnerability. There is another aspect to the imaginative life of children between 7 and 10. A little observation of their doings will show a tendency to polarize everything they meet, into good and evil, rich and poor, etc. They organize gang wars, and they delight in stories which describe struggles between opposites—whether cowboys and Indians, or Dr. Who and the latest mechanical monstrosities. Certainly the struggles described satisfy the children's aggressive drive and can diminish their need for physical, aggressive self-expression. However, psychologically it is interesting to look at the kind of feeling, of experience, which makes this polarizing exercise so gratifying to them, and again and again their love of opposites becomes clear. This habit, which amounts to an expansion and exploration of the dimensions of feeling of the soul, is as important a step in the child's development as was the exploration first of space, and then time, when he was younger. By this means, the child can become acquainted with the language of inner experience, and of shades, gradations, and value differences if he is gradually taught how to discriminate shades of quality or meaning.⁶⁷ This is a very essential step in maturation.

For the person of immature, unsophisticated judgement, and also for those who rely on dogma, there are absolute values of beauty, truth, goodness, and absolute standards. Children who grow up with this tradition may be able to lead a peaceful life undisturbed by doubts and problems. However, particularly in modern times, life can present men with situations to which an answer by such absolute standards is impossible. The dilemmas of modern life, whether they are related to individual morality or international finance, are such that the individual is constantly challenged to respond according to his individual moral judgement. In such situations it can only stand him in good stead to have learned how to discriminate the finer shades of meaning, of value, of moral obligation. This capacity is prepared in the child by the way in which he learns to distinguish what is beautiful from what is less beautiful; and what is ugly from what is more ugly. The shadings of values are enjoyed by the child almost as a game, yet the playing of this 'game' provides the foundation of later independent moral judgement. He learns about discrimination as well as personal reaction during this time—at least he does if he is not surrounded by narrow-minded dogma and bigoted theories where there can only be wrong or right.

It is in the imaginative exploration of the world of feeling shades that the freedom of the child now lies. 'What do you think would happen if . . .?', they ask us, the busy, preoccupied adults, and get a dusty answer. They ask each other, and lo! a marvellous fantasy world immediately wraps both or all of them and they are lost. But they are not idly dreaming the day away, they have become inward explorers of imagination and feelings as previously they were outer explorers of space and time. Sufficient has been said of the hazards in both cases, not only to life and limb, but also to the child's inner being, if they are encouraged or left unguided to explore either physical or spiritual fields without the support and care of the adults who are morally and legally responsible for them.

This widening activity of inner exploration brings the child to a strange new shore by the time he reaches the age of 9. He comes to the point in his inner life where inner fantasy and outer reality split from each other; the direct line of communication between his inner world and what his senses convey to him is broken and he finds himself standing, like Crusoe on his island, between subjective inner experience and the objective outer world. For the first time he has to deal with the world without the help of magic, his secret but omnipotent

sheltering mantle, which transformed everything into a shape which could fit in with his world. His feelings now confront him undisguised by imagination, and he begins to doubt, for the first time, both himself and the adults around him. Typically he wonders what he is really there for, sometimes whether his parents really are his parents and by what right his teachers tell him what to do.

This is a watershed in the course of child development. How much hangs in the balance must be obvious to any reader who has tried to live himself into the child's experience up to this point. The child must find the thread which will lead him to connect up inner experience and outer fact in an acceptable yet realistic way. He must rebuild his confidence in the adults around him on a new, sound basis which he can trust. This is a tall order and a little reflection will show that adults themselves often find this kind of task difficult enough. However, the child should have the support and understanding of those older and wiser than he is to help him over this first experience, this foretaste, of the problems which adult life holds in store. Some children subconsciously shrink from this moment, and regress and cling to their parents or teachers, panic-stricken and overwhelmed. Some, particularly those children who have never had reason to believe that adults cared much about them anyway, pursue outer success (or outer failure!) with persistence and determination from this time. Not unexpectedly they remain heedless of admonition and entreaty. They later become hardened businessmen, hardened professionals, or hardened spongers on society, as the case may be; people for whom black and white are the only colours, who are unable to meet new situations with any creative initiative, and who are incapable of adaptation. Such people have built a shell around themselves from this time, and have come to rely upon outer function as the representative of the inner personality.

It must be obvious how important is careful support and nurture of the child's inner fantasy up to this moment. Without a rich experience of inner imaginative activity he will suddenly find himself lacking inner security, inner emotional technique, with which to meet the impact of a new, impersonal outer world suddenly shorn of its glorious magic mantle. Outwardly family relationships and roles also need to be clearly perceived and recognized by the child if he is to have security in his feelings at this time, and later as an adult.

Modern life makes increasing demands for judgements and, moreover, the benefits of a technological age make evasion of these

issues ever more tempting. More and more aids to easy learning become readily available, so that there is a tendency for machines to be looked upon as replacements for teachers who are in short supply. Yet it becomes more and more important to educate children to become creative and adaptable adults, with real social feeling and concern for their fellow-men. There is more and more demand for creativity, for originality and inventiveness. This capacity springs up naturally in the young child in his free play, and in the school child in his experiments with materials and in his inner imaginative world which he shares with trusted adults and friends. It is very necessary to be quite clear about this, so that the various teaching aids which are becoming increasingly available can find their right place. Adults should not give themselves the impression that a perfectly functioning machine must be better for the child than their own apparently less perfect efforts. The very fact that an adult—parent, teacher, social worker, or friend—is making an effort to teach or help a child sets him an example which is of great educational value. Children between 7 and 9 model themselves joyfully on their teachers. It is probably partly the pressure of outer life, and the endless flow of specialist comments and books of theories, that has led to increasing adult unawareness of the inner world of experience in themselves and in children; so there is an increasing demand for specialists to explain it to them. This inner world is quite real, as real as the outer world but more immediate to the self because it is the self which is the key to it. It is difficult but possible to become fully conscious of this inner world.

The first direct experience of his own self arises in the child during the tenth year, a first sensation of *aloneness*, of potential loneliness in the real world. This is a necessary moment, and lays the essential foundation for adult individuality and independence. For healthy further development to continue it must have been preceded by a living acquaintance with the realities of past, present, and future during early childhood, as described in earlier chapters. Through such a foundation the child learns to accept that what was done yesterday will bring consequences later, perhaps today, or tomorrow. A proper sense of responsibility for future consequences of present actions is enabled to be born at this time. Responsibility, conscience, a moral sense, can only begin to grow where there is a real appreciation of the outer effect resulting from one's action. They cannot grow as personal conviction if there is no real feeling for a future as well as for a past. If their only support and justification are maxims imposed by the

conventions of the individual's surroundings, he will discard them if his critical faculty is sufficiently awakened to see through their derivative quality. This is seen all too frequently today, particularly in the protest movements of adolescents. Some individuals never awaken sufficiently to question the clichés that serve as guides for living.

This turning point of childhood during the tenth year is of vital importance from the intellectual and moral point of view. Intellectually the child can now begin to handle ideas without requiring an imaginative cloak to disguise them and to make the process palatable, although he still likes to regard everything he meets as something to be intensely liked or disliked. He has mastered the skills of reading and writing, and can usually manage basic mathematical operations with reasonable competence. He can begin to use his skills for new forms of self-expression.

Morally he begins to be able to grasp the notion of his own responsibility and to feel what this means, he becomes accessible to reasoned arguments about right and wrong, and he can accept a code of behaviour.

There is one art form above all others which adequately meets the need for inner experience and self-expression in this age group—this is music. It is therefore most conveniently considered here, in relation to the needs of developing children.

Music is an essential realm of human experience. It is most unfortunate that in the industrial communities during the past 100 years it became the prerogative of a privileged minority to make and experience music. It became a distortion of itself—a class symbol. Fortunately this trend has now been broken, and music is once more becoming part of normal life of the whole population.

The effects of musical experience upon the development of the mind are important and can be far reaching. William James²⁹ formulated a striking concept when, speaking about the apparently self-contradictory phrases in mystical literature, he said that 'they prove that not conceptual speech but music rather is the element through which we are best spoken to by mystical truth. Many mystical scriptures are indeed little more than musical compositions'.

The child's capacity to hear and use musical rhythms and sounds awakens more slowly than his perception of colour and form, and in a subtler way, so that it is more easily ignored or even discouraged by imperceptive adults. The jingles, nursery rhymes, and lullabies which are a traditional part of young children's musical experience, are

followed eagerly for a long time, but without the child reproducing more than an odd word or note. Access to percussion instruments, whether it be mother's saucepans and cooking utensils or one of the lovely xylophones now available, leads to early experiments with single musical sounds. These can only be enjoyed in peace. If the child is living amid a cacophony of external noise, he may not even try such experiments. Sensitivity to musical sounds, then pitch, develops during the first 4-5 years and during the latter part of this time the child can sing either odd notes or even a whole tune. Exceptionally musical children, of course, may be able to reproduce whole tunes long before this age, and by 4 or 5 those rare children gifted with musical genius have started to learn at least one instrument.^{8, 27, 38}

Rhythms are more easily learned by some children than others, and even a musical child may at first be quite slow. It is interesting and perhaps worth investigating in this connection that Stella Chess differentiates a group of 'irregular unadaptable' children as one particular temperamental category.⁵³ It is well known that a great deal can be done with small children—up to 5 or 6, by means of rhythmical games and songs, to teach them about everyday things, but also to get them used to playing in a group with a participating adult. Small children can hardly have enough of rhythmical ring games, new words, names, and catch phrases.

By 7 or 8, children usually have a good command over their singing voice, and enjoy singing together. They can also benefit very much by this time from other communal musical activities such as percussion or recorder groups. The extensive research of Carl Orff⁴³ into the evolution of music in mankind, and also into the development of the musical sense in children, has led to the design of suitable instruments which can be used by groups of primary-school children with a satisfactory musical outcome. They can also learn to improvise, using rhythm, melody and harmony in this way.

It is, of course, superfluous to point out that what colour is to seeing and the learning of accurate visual discrimination in the child, music is to hearing and listening and the development of a sensitive and discriminating ear. From purely developmental needs, therefore, musical experience at this simple level is necessary to every child. However, just as there are children who are particularly gifted visually, so there are children for whom a musical experience can open a gate into the soul to which there is no other way. These children long to play music—real living music, and should not be denied this need.

There was a pathetic story of a child who was not allowed to play a violin because it did not fit in with the décor of the parents' sitting-room! This need to learn to make music is not a craving for an additive luxury; music is one of the basic cultural prerogatives of man, and one of the most damning results of the sociological gulf in the population of this country is the almost total deprivation of a large segment of the community of a part of the Western cultural heritage. Music had come to be equated with social classes until the recent eruption of true folk music among young people, which is now beginning to redeem the situation.

Once older children from 10 or 11 upwards are allowed to hear real living music, and to become acquainted with folk songs and the so-called classical compositions, they very quickly become as discriminating and appreciative listeners as any sophisticated audience, but possibly have a livelier receptiveness. In a boarding school for maladjusted boys of secondary age, thirty-two of thirty-nine children volunteered to go to a Rossini opera, although it meant paying for the fares and tickets from their own pocket money, and one of the boys subsequently took his parents to the opera in the next school holidays much to their astonished enjoyment. It is not merely a question of accessibility; the children must be encouraged to realize that this music was written for *all* people, including themselves, that class distinctions in this matter are not only ridiculous but cheat them of part of their birthright. Unfortunately the cultural deprivation has bitten very deep where music is concerned. This may be due in part to the break in English church music for so long after the dissolution of the monasteries, which virtually put an end to commissioned ecclesiastical compositions. It is often very hard to persuade administrators and teachers, who have grown up totally deprived of music themselves, how essential an item this is in the school curriculum of all children.

By the age of 10 many children are able to tackle the learning of one of the more complex instruments, violin, cello, or wind instrument, and so have the added discipline of creating the notes and rhythms themselves. Physically also there is a turning point about this time. The child begins to stretch in length, and he begins to be capable of more sustained physical effort; he no longer functions so much in a series of impulsive spurts of activity as previously. A different quality of effort can now be expected of him in physical education, or on outings.

So during these 4 years, the child traverses immense fields of experience which are open to him only at this time, and at no other, in quite such a natural way. They teach him about feelings and ill-feelings; they teach him about the living world as part of himself, of his own experience; they teach him about his fellows. And in him there grows the need to become a member of the human family and live, learn, and work together with others. Lastly, at the end of this period, he comes rather abruptly to a meeting with himself, standing between his inner life and his outer life, and seeking a bridge. This is indeed an epic journey and requires the right understanding, guidance, and companionship from the adults who are responsible for his care. Some indications of ways to deal with this situation can be found in the first chapter.

In the next chapter, the prepubertal years will be discussed and the whole voyage through childhood be taken a stage further. Further development of girls will be detailed in a subsequent chapter, as it has a more uniform character.

Chapter 6

The years from 11 to 15

During this period boys and girls undergo different processes of physical change, and these normally take place at different ages in the two sexes. Girls enter puberty anything from 1 to 4 years earlier (2 years on average) than boys do, and there seems to be a tendency for periods to start at an earlier age than in previous decades.⁸⁶

The whole problem whether boys and girls should be kept together, at home and at school, needs consideration at this point. There is, of course, no easy or universal answer to it.

It is quite possibly true that children in single-sex schools can make better scholastic progress, than they do in a co-educational setting.²² However, those children who develop their intellectual potential more slowly in a co-educational school may realize their full intellectual potential later but possibly in a more natural, unforced fashion. The apparent disadvantage of this later development must be weighed against the social problems and handicaps that beset a boy or girl who has been taught to look upon a member of the opposite sex as an intruder or as forbidden fruit. The resulting *gaucherie* in adult life is both humiliating and mutually embarrassing and occurs from the moment that young people meet anywhere except in an accustomed social setting which has inbuilt, traditional forms of behaviour—such as a cocktail party, a dance, or a football match. They can manage polite nothings of conversation in conventional settings: in any other situation they are tempted to plunge into a physical relationship, or else to ease their difficulties of real communication in verbal intercourse by using stimulant or narcotic drugs, or alcohol. There seems often to be no intermediary of normal human converse between young people from the casual greeting to an invitation to jump into bed. The

challenge of the sex difference and all the artificial barriers of earlier years take pride of place. A member of the opposite sex somehow is not regarded simply as another human being.

Where the young people have always grown up together, much of the glamour and mystery which are held to surround members of the opposite sex are long lost by the time the children enter puberty. Learning together, helping or criticizing each other on an equal basis, giving and taking, normal human discourse at home or in the classroom: these things generate in most healthy children a great deal of common sense. True, they have, and are entitled to have, fantasies about the meaning of their developing physical body and its changes; but they are usually able to distinguish these from physical sexuality and are not normally dominated by them in their everyday life, unless overexposed to the commercial exploitation of erotic stimuli which can overwhelm their perceptions.

As has been seen in previous chapters, there is a progressive unfolding of consciousness during childhood. The faculties of thinking and feeling will only gradually differentiate out. The toddler is dominated by impulse, the 7-year-old by fantasy, the 10-year-old by healthy doubting. By the age of 12 years, children—both boys and girls—can think objectively about outer events. They can begin to reason logically. This is a process which in normal circumstances takes a predictable course. However, as it is a question of wakening intellectual faculties, this process is subject to outside influences to a greater extent than the physiological ones which precede this stage. It is apparently quite easy to challenge a child to reason logically at a much earlier time. It is also apparently quite easy to make him conscious of sexual differences and their implications long before he would become aware of these if he were left to himself. Forced and early awakening may alienate the child from companions and playmates of his own age, and leave him in an unreal world of his own. Likewise, precocious adolescents may live in a delusional world even without soft drugs.

While it is possible to awaken a child before he is emotionally and physiologically prepared for the real experience, it is also possible to lull a child by placing him or her in an artificial atmosphere, unrepresentative of normal life and normal people. The developing faculties of logic and clear reasoning in relation to the circumstances and feelings of real life and 'ordinary' people are blunted. Some schools achieve such a result intentionally, others unwittingly. In these

schools the product arrived at is success in the measurable commodity of results in abstract subjects. Their failure is the inability of their 'products', however successful they may be academically, to develop towards independent thinking. Independent thought can only take place in full consciousness: only then can the young person derive and identify ideas of his own from those given to him: only then can the influence of his own feelings and impulses be recognized as coming from within.

Some boarding school boys are particularly in danger of cherishing the fantasy that the world is run entirely by and for men, especially men like themselves, and that no one else really counts except as recipients of their orders or ministrations. This is a very dangerous delusion for young men today. Tradition and old conventions do not stand up to the pressures of modern ideas and problems, and these young people run the risk of entering life in a permanently blinkered state, unable to do anything except that for which they were trained, unable to meet unaccustomed ideas with anything but an incredulous response, unable to adapt to change. Adaptation to change is one of the most important faculties needed today, especially among men, whether in practical industrial work or in administration. It depends on the ability to enter into new situations with objective imaginative sympathy, on being able not only to listen but also to comprehend in human terms what is being said. Boys and girls who have grown up together and learned a free give and take are more likely to develop this adaptability than those who have grown up in secluded and protected segregation far from all suspect distractions, to be pitchforked into normal life at a most uncertain and vulnerable moment in their physical and intellectual development.

Girls Aged 11-15

The pre-pubertal phase begins with a growth spurt in girls usually from age 11-13, i.e. 1-4 years before it appears in boys. This means that at a time when a girl is dreaming of developing seductive curves, and becoming a woman just like Mum, or the current idol, the male contemporaries are still cosily wrapped up in the business of learning about the world in which they live and trying their skill at exercising some sort of logical thinking about it. The tremendous developmental gulf at this age is really a safeguard. It protects the girls from their

burgeoning, half-understood instincts and desires, and enables them to remain companionable even in a mixed class in a co-educational setting, where generally the boys' patent lack of interest cools their ardour right off. Such a contrast becomes even more obvious among emotionally disturbed children. For this reason there is, if anything, less anxiety about undesirable sexual experimentation by the children in a mixed school for maladjusted children in the writer's experience than in a single-sex one.

The whole question of sexual information now becomes a major issue. The curiosity and newly aroused interest in physical functions in mixed and single-sex classes of this age group can be admirably met by a course on the elementary principles of general human physiology and hygiene given by the teacher whom they know. All gutter utterances and suggestive remarks from the children may cease as suddenly as they appeared. The children can settle down again contentedly to the business of learning more about their world. In some cases, however, particularly where there is evidence of anxiety on the subject, more private talks with specific sex instruction may be needed to supplement or replace this. The need can usually be gauged by the children's questions, and such intimate talks are best carried out with small groups of children or individually. Formal sex instruction for large groups may engender more confusion than enlightenment. In any group of adolescent children some are pubescent and some not yet. Failure to meet the sudden spurt of curiosity amongst this divergent group with adequate and comprehensible information results in a great deal of secret misery and anxiety. Some may become exploiters and others victims. Workers with adolescents have noted how frequently girls were totally uninformed about sexual matters and about the risks of petting leading to an uncontrollable situation. On the other hand, it is foolish to introduce 'sex instruction' as a subject to be learned, out of the context of the children's degree of need and capacity for understanding. Birds and bees are really quite irrelevant to the pressing urgency here and now, of sensations which are new, thrilling, yet terrifying at the same time.

The appearance of H.I.V infections and their lethal development in a longer or shorter space of time has begun to bedevil sexual counselling wherever it takes place. The difficulty is probably largely the remoteness in time of these developments, and the lack of any previous educational information about venereal diseases generally.

The situation of emotional vulnerability of the girls in these years must appear concretely in their teacher's consciousness. For most of early childhood, the girl has played out a motherly role, practising first with dolls, then with other children, and then at school, where shopping for a 'pretend' family has possibly been her first introduction to mathematics and counting.

Then, after about 6-7, the girls' and boys' interests merge. They learn together, secure in the trust in their teacher, less concerned with sexual differences or their significance.

At 9-10 boys and girls go through their second great crisis in individuation, and for perhaps a year after this in their companionship, they can remain oblivious of the difference between them.

Then slowly, there comes upon the girl a secret longing once more to be a fairy queen, or the heroine of her story, infinitely desirable, and able to reward her prince with a rich kingdom. At the same time she begins to be assailed by tormenting doubts and fears about her adequacy in an adult role. She begins to examine herself for signs of physical change, and later she is thrilled secretly when one day she finds perhaps a slight filling of her breasts or the beginning of soft hairy down under her arms or between her legs. A new physical awareness arises, and with it a most tiresome self-consciousness. While one is tempted to deal sharply with the giggling gaggles of girls who never seem to be listening at this time, it is well to remember what delicate psychological processes underlie their apparently silly behaviour. It is most important to allow them their dignity and self-respect, and much imagination and sympathy are shown by heads and teachers in secondary schools in giving them opportunities to develop social competence and personal responsibility. They all too easily suffer agonies of shyness, and there are dangers that some may even fail eventually to enjoy marrying their 'prince' through habits of self-consciousness, guilt, and embarrassment, and so embark on a miserably inadequate married life.

Artistic subjects can become of intense interest to girls at this time, and music, dancing, everything and poetry can not only absorb them, but also give them a release from the emotional tensions caused by their physical changes. They also begin to show ambitions for self-expression in the way that they dress. This commonly occurs after about 13, though it may be earlier or later. The girls begin to try and formulate their own taste and ideas, and now need ample scope for exercising a new-found skill in discrimination and artistic judgement.

A potentially tiresome aspect of this age in girls is the tendency in some to develop fanatical attachments to their elders, usually to women, and to persecute them unmercifully with unwanted attentions and demands for recognition. The adult must be prepared for the fact that once the girl has ceased her passionate pursuit she may turn her adoration into positive dislike or scorn. The girl cannot be expected to adjust her feelings to a reasonable temperature without losing face in her own or her friends' estimation, and somehow she cannot forgive the hapless grown-up for allowing her to form the attachment in the first place. It can be extremely difficult for such a child later to extricate herself from this situation without losing face in her own estimation, and unfortunately the particular adult is usually the last person who is able to help her because of the embarrassment and consequent feelings of ambivalence which the child has usually developed. Any move by her is bound to be misunderstood or misinterpreted and so becomes a wrong step. If the grown-up can retain a friendly detachment and avoid becoming emotionally involved by the child, she has the best chance of redirecting her invested emotional energy into more constructive channels, e.g. some simple job helping someone in real need, such as an older handicapped person, and this in time will bring the child its own reward and satisfaction.

With the coming of puberty, the family must readjust virtually to having a new member in their midst. The girl is no longer one of the little ones. She has become a separate person with an entirely new individuality. This can bring serious problems with it in many ways, but particularly if there is a shortage of rooms. Young girls of 12 and over should be able to withdraw to somewhere private where they can have peace of their own choosing—even if it does mean listening to the same tape all day. They have a hard task coming to terms with the dawning reality of that womanhood which they have for so long anticipated, and will make a far better job of it if they can have time and peace to readjust themselves.

There is often a tendency to make use of the pubescent girl as mother-substitute and drudge in the home. Both father and mother tend to make more 'grown-up' demands of the girl at the first sign of her adolescence. Yet this is a completely illogical reaction. Certainly in a household each member must contribute something to help with the work involved in its running, but to demand womanly duties from someone who is only just coming to grips with the idea that she will one day really be a real woman is unjust. Later, at 14 and 15, the girl will

probably enjoy practising her new skills and gladly stand beside her mother and help her. But at 11, 12, 13, she is far too uncertain of herself. Naturally she rebels, and the parents complain bitterly that 'she won't do a thing to help, yet she's old enough now . . .'

Social life also becomes difficult. Most youth clubs will only accept children over 13 or even 15, and few so far seem to have thought of providing for the needs of the 11-13-year-olds who want to try their hand at social converse with each other, yet still have a great need for adult support in the process.

After 12-13, the girls usually begin to be theoretically interested in heterosexual companionship. By 14-15 a girl may have sorted out her feminine role sufficiently to wish singly to try and attract a boy companion of her own rather than through a group of girls. A girl may try out many different companions, and this should be accepted by parents and family. It is obvious that the girl who can bring her various friends, boys and girls, home—not to an empty house but to a real family—will be least likely to land herself in an unmanageable situation. Also she can see, without anyone pointing it out to her, how her various friends measure up to the standards and habits of living in her home, and this is far more likely to finish off an undesirable acquaintanceship than any amount of parental suspicion, argument, and protest.

As has been said, by 14 the girl has usually settled down to her femininity, and the majority will have started regular periods. Contrary to general belief, this event in itself causes remarkably little bother normally, but it is essential that there should be adequate facilities for disposing of used sanitary towels and for dealing with soiled clothes and linen in the home, without exposing her to an embarrassing inquisition. The need for adequate facilities at school is now fully realized. Bins or incinerators are provided even in primary schools. The mother who can give tactful practical suggestions to a girl who is trying to cope with an added inconvenience will earn her deepest gratitude. It may be thought superfluous to mention such mundane matters in a book like this yet it is precisely on apparently trifling items like this that major anxieties and phobias can grow. The root of them may have entirely escaped everyone, including the main sufferer, just because of its triviality.

During the early years of the establishment of a regular menstrual cycle, a number of girls suffer quite considerable pain (dysmenorrhoea) both before and during the first one to three days of each period

and this may be so severe that medical help is needed. If the pain persists throughout the time of bleeding, medical advice should be sought in any event. The early periods may be irregular and either unduly prolonged or scanty when they occur. Regular ovulation—the shedding of an egg cell from the ovary into the tubes of the girl's genital tract—may precede the onset of menstruation, or may only begin some time afterwards. It is on all counts a most unfortunate fact that most girls and boys are totally uninformed about the gradual establishment of the regular sexual cycle, and the only thing that many girls hear from their mother at this time is that they 'mustn't have anything to do with boys'—without necessarily even knowing that injudicious sexual experimentation may now lead them not only to full intercourse, but to impregnation and a consequent pregnancy.

It is interesting that in some primitive tribes, whose customs have remained intact and undisturbed by Western rationalizations, sexual experiment is allowed between children. The whole tribal life is closely geared to the cycles of nature and the different seasons which they bring. At sexual maturation, signalled by the first bleeding at the menarche, the girls are taken into a new social group, in recognition of their new state of natural function, whether by initiation ceremonies or some other outer token—and henceforth their contacts with boys and men are regulated by their new natural status.

The fact that girls and women bleed regularly every month has been a source of awed fascination to the opposite sex.

Western culture, particularly among adolescent young people, is tending towards less and less sex distinction with regard to roles in the social field, and the mutual sex activities themselves have become for many a route of communication with one another rather than of mere gratification. Among these young people the woman's monthly periods are a simple fact, taken once more as part of nature, but not as a justifiable source of emotional disturbance.

The old feelings leading to rituals related to the supposed 'unclean-ness' of the menstruating woman, such as are stated explicitly in the Ancient Persian and the Judaic laws, for example, have largely disappeared. However, a number of girls at this time find it extraordinarily difficult to establish an adequate pattern of hygiene. The disposal of soiled sanitary towels is known to all women's lavatory attendants to be a chronic source of trouble. Possibly there may be an underlying reluctance in a few cases to part with something visibly and intimately her own on the part of the girl, resulting sometimes in a

hoard of soiled towels concealed somewhere in her bedroom. Sometimes this kind of situation is due to practical difficulties of privacy and disposal; in other cases it is an indication of some deep disturbance. Some girls show indifference, and neglect themselves completely, soon after the onset of their periods and their attitude to soiled clothing and used sanitary towels appears to be one of complete detachment. This seems to apply in their case to anything connected with growing up into independence. Here, almost certainly, medical and possibly psychiatric help will be needed. Lack of hygiene and general unkemptness in these cases is rooted in a deep-seated denial of maturation towards womanly responsibilities. The woman is a giver instead of a childish receiver—and these young people, who have often been emotionally very deprived in their childhood, cannot yet face such a challenging transformation. They need an enormous amount of adult help and involvement before they can feel sufficient self-respect and inner resources to be able to keep themselves clean in an organized way, i.e. to take over the physical care of their own bodies, and so acknowledge that they can no longer have this claim upon the older generation for 'motherly' care.

Should menstrual periods, once begun, cease (amenorrhoea), the cause must be investigated. While pregnancy in adolescent girls is a relatively common cause of amenorrhoea, psychological stress such as working for an examination can disorganize the menstrual rhythm considerably. There are many physical conditions of ill-health such as anaemia that are associated with irregular periods, but psychological disorders can also be responsible, notably the condition of anorexia nervosa. In this illness, which can begin to affect girls usually from 11 years upwards, there is a sudden or progressive loss of appetite and weight and persistent failure to eat an adequate diet. The condition is serious, and where in such a case there is a loss of weight of more than a few pounds, medical advice and help should be sought promptly despite any objections or protestations from the patient. The condition is potentially far too grave to take a philosophical attitude to the sufferer and let her dree her ain weird. It requires vigorous and highly skilled treatment and management, possibly for several years. Throughout the illness there is usually total amenorrhoea, and the periods may not return for some months even after the patient's weight has been fully restored.

Irregularities of the periods understandably may set up considerable fear and anxiety in girls who find it quite impossible to tell any member

of their own household about such a very private matter. This is one reason why a member of the school staff—teacher, social worker, counsellor, or school nurse, granted the right capacity to form constructive relationships with young people, can be an indispensable source of information, comfort, and advice.

In many societies sexual experimenting is an accepted part of normal childish play, and gives sufficient answer to the sexual curiosity long before adolescence.

In communities where there is inadequate information and experience of sexual differences and functions, there is a need for adequate instruction in biology and human physiology and this must be given at an appropriate time.⁶⁸

With her young womanhood recognized and established, the 14-year-old now has to make a decision about her future. She must decide whether she will persevere with education and undertake a training, gaining a qualification in a trade or profession at the end, or whether she will take any available job in hand to mouth fashion, until the time that she finds herself married and settling down to creating a family life of her own. Here it seems that girls are very adaptable and ready to experiment with work in a way that boys at this age, with their much more recent pubertal crisis barely over, find extremely difficult. Girls on the whole are able to enjoy this period of their life, to take what comes, and to react less dramatically than boys. They wait for the next step that life will bring them; boys must go searching and experimenting for much longer before they feel that they can settle down.

Sixteen is a watershed in the social education of the child, for after this age she is at the present time legally free to leave school in this country. Many girls seem to stop growing emotionally at this age, and to continue unchanged in attitude, until the demands of a family of their own again set off a process of development and emotional maturation in them. The reason for this hiatus should be earnestly sought. It represents a great loss to society of potential creative growth and intellectual capacity. Is it true that this culture is still so bound by a male-dominated tradition that any girl who is heard as well as seen is immediately socially beyond the pale? It would be a very immature society that felt itself to be threatened by a true equality and partnership of human function between its men and women.

Boys Aged 11-15

At 11, most boys are absorbed in learning how things work. They are on the whole extroverted, slapdash, physically very active, and tend either not to listen or to mishear what they have been told. In contrast with their bright appearance and apparent ready understanding when called to order, they still have a childish tendency to bend all meaning to their own idea, although, on the whole, most children are habitually truthful by this age. Superficially they may seem stupid, unreliable, or obstructive, a little attempt to understand them reveals the quality of their inner logic, which is fairly consistent although immature. This highly active, vaguely generalized thinking needs discipline. A craft, such as joinery or metalwork, or careful study of geometry requiring accuracy and honesty as well as consistency of workmanship is a useful additional educational weapon at this stage. This can take the form of a hobby at home, ideally shared with Dad. At school it may become an important part of the curriculum, not just because it is good to make things, but because it provides a structure to their learning a subject, or both.^{74, 77}

By 12, the child's thinking capacity has matured, and he becomes capable of producing coherent and logical statements out of his own initiative, which can be grasped and understood by others. The 12-year-old boy can really be a richly endowed individual. He may be as yet untroubled by pubertal storms, he is able to think fairly logically about what meets him, to feel sympathy or antipathy as his own genuine feelings and act upon them, to form aesthetic views and judgements and develop taste and ideas of his own. He often blossoms out in a mode of dress and general appearance which he considers to be appropriate to his taste if given the opportunity. If he has had sympathetic backing at home, he can now really enjoy his school lessons, and begin to learn about life in a new way because such learning now has a far more concrete meaning for him. It relates him to the real world, and enables him to see how eventually he will be able to contribute to life in his turn when he is old enough.

By 13, the pubertal growth spurt has begun in a majority of boys, and the fleeting security and self-confidence are all too easily lost. The boy entering puberty is really in the throes of a violent physical upheaval. This, however, is not very obvious to the casual observer. Hair begins to grow on the body and then the face. The skin begins to become spotty. His voice begins to wobble and let him down, and his

limbs shoot out of his clothes in all directions so that he may constantly look as though his clothes have come from a second-hand shop, although they are new. Later, seborrhoeic rashes, boils, and acne pimples add to his discomfort. Adults should realise the turmoil which the young boy has to pass through, and make allowances for it. He may get an erection of his penis whenever he looks at a girl, and so has to avert his eyes, which is too easily interpreted as intentional awkwardness.

Between the ages of 13 and 13½ the rate of physical growth accelerates. With this growth spurt there comes a notable gain in physical power, though not necessarily in stamina. As so often before, the physical change, while heralding a new phase in development and closing an earlier one, must first be allowed a period of consolidation; premature physical strain at this time for instance has brought disaster. A long route march may have its casualties. The youth takes to lounging and lying around. He is preoccupied yet inarticulate, he shuts himself in his room for hours, or disappears with his cronies, forgetting all promises to be back for a meal. While reliability and punctuality must of course be insisted upon, it is important, as with the adolescent girl, to let the youngster have an adequate sense of privacy, without, however, allowing him to form the impression that he is being abandoned entirely to his own devices. Boys more than girls are in danger of coming to a total failure of communication with adults at this stage.

It is important for the boy to have someone, preferably outside the family, with whom he can discuss his strange new feeling experiences. For boys, it is a real trial to find that their penis will respond with an erection as they think of a pretty girl, or see an erotic picture, or indeed meet a girl on the street. And feelings, which are often strange and sometimes frightening because of their physical intensity and the great difficulty in gaining control over them, are linked with this new experience.

Probably all adolescent boys masturbate; it is one way for them to come to terms with, and learn to control, the new sensations which their body produces. 'Wet dreams', which are emissions of semen with erections during sleep, also commonly occur, and need to be dealt with as tactfully as do the problems of the menstruating girl.

Where girls may develop unhealthy crushes on adults, boys sometimes cause concern by an unhealthy degree of personal withdrawal and inarticulate negativism. Their sexual urges overwhelm

them with guilt, shame, or bravado. The body seems like a stranger with frightening potentials, even the voice is no longer under their own control.

While the boys who go through puberty between 13 and 15 have a hard enough time, the situation is even worse for those who only go through a pubertal crisis much later, some even as late as 18 or 20. These late-maturing boys are physically and emotionally fish out of water in the presence of their hefty companions, and a great deal of misery can result from such a situation, as also with the rarer cases of boys going through puberty a year or more sooner than their contemporaries and finding themselves giants in Lilliput.

Intellectually, also, there is a great change by 14 and 15. The boys no longer accept the rule of logic, nor the authority due to their teachers' and parents' *status*, though they will nearly always accept the authority of proven personal experience regardless of who the person may be. The youngsters tear all to shreds that their society holds dear and that which was previously accepted by them as children. Everything has to be newly found, newly worked out, and newly validated.

Coupled with hour-long sessions to talk about high ideals, there come waves of undesirable gang activity, hooliganism, and sexual experimentation; the hot air and impossible conduct can exasperate the adults beyond all limits of patience and tolerance.

On top of this rejection of their whole society by the 14-16-year-olds, there may be the tendency to begin experimenting with stimulant drugs. The deep depression with which some adolescent boys struggle throughout these years may be a reason for their turning to drugs for help and comfort. This does not entirely explain the search for new experiences which drives some, particularly the older young people, to use hallucinogenic drugs and become very undesirable idols and leaders for the younger boys. Society is not meeting their questions adequately; they look around in the world with their newly-found critical vision of 14-15 years, and fail to see the anchorages they had been led to expect by their teachers, so they listen to the older young people who talk about new, strange, and exciting experiences, or are caught by a sweeping fashion in behaviour, and turn to drugs themselves.⁷⁶

While there has undoubtedly been a very great improvement in the lot of the ordinary 14-16-year-old children in Great Britain, with the improvement in provisions for secondary education and later school-leaving age, this has itself brought new problems to public notice.

These previously lay dormant. The struggle which the younger school leavers had in order to find work was problem enough. The real questions and demands for emotional and moral support and understanding which belong to this period of life are now becoming more obvious to parents, teachers, and social workers. It is as deep a challenge to our human qualities as are any of the other stages of childhood, and as important. Many teachers and employers are tackling this situation with great success, and are finding new and exciting fields of human converse and social activities as they come to know these young people better. There are, however, some disastrous gaps through which the young people can fall.

Only too often there is no compassion for a young boy who enters work for the first time, straight from school. On the contrary, the tougher the 'initiation' he gets, down to physical violence on the excuse of 'fun', the more pleased some so-called grown-ups may be. True, primitive tribes beat up their young boys at adolescence to the point of insensibility to pain, but this is because they need them as brave warriors. For some reason there has remained in some sections of our society a primitive tradition that beating up is good for the young, and each generation does it to the next, apparently simply because as they were beaten they do not see why the younger ones should 'be let off'. There is an incomprehensible storehouse of such male traditions hidden under a veneer of civilization, and it takes the young newcomer entirely unaware. College initiations, bumpings for a twenty-first birthday, drinking a young recruit under the table in the services, throwing winners or losers of races into the river, sometimes with fatal results—all such extraordinary brutalities are still apparently accepted by this society. It is strange that it is this same society that demands books such as the present one to help it understand its children and young people. It seems that a little human moderation and common sense in many situations would make such a book quite unnecessary, but it seems that to introduce such moderation where it is really needed would be so herculean a task as to defeat any ordinary mortal.

The older generation find themselves in a contradictory situation. They belittle the adolescent because he is young, and as yet nobody, yet they fear his potential which will challenge and supplant them. Demands by students that their voice should also be heard are a clear warning of problems that are accumulating through decades of avoidance of such real issues by the adults. Those who themselves have 'made it' are apparently unable, perhaps because of insecurity and

envy, to grant more privileges or consideration to those following them. It is as though there were a real jealousy that the 'young ones' should be having such an apparently easy passage where their seniors struggled, without seeing that the tasks and difficulties of the younger generation lie in an entirely different direction. We must learn neither to envy our children nor to harm their development unnecessarily. Each successive generation in turn has new tasks, as life and human history itself develops in the process of human experience.

Chapter 7

The first adventure into adult life—young people between 16 and 20

Whereas during the previous 6 or 7 years there has been a divergence between boys and girls inherent in the processes of their sexual maturation, as adult life is approached similar challenges confront young people of both sexes. It is therefore justifiable to consider these as affecting the whole group. By this time the majority of young people have come to terms with their sexual role in life. Some will have indulged in a certain amount of homosexual and heterosexual experimentation; a very few will have passed through a time of severe trial and anxiety needing a great deal of tolerant help from understanding and supportive adults. Some will have required active psychiatric treatment. The inner personality crisis which puberty brought with it may pass, but now we enter a new and subtler phase of danger. This must be understood not only by the young people, but also by the society in which they live. In some respects the sequence which occurs during the 7 years from 13 or 14 to 20 recalls the pattern in the earlier phases of development. In the first 6 or 7 years there is first a tremendous physical and physiological change taking place over the course of about 3 years, and this is followed by a period of identification of the self and of inner exploration. While the self-identification is part of an inevitable and natural process in the first years of life, at the adolescent stage it depends very largely on the impact of outside influences. A 'false self' is easily built in defence of an immature true self at this time, if the human climate in which the

young person finds him or herself is intolerant of individual growth and development. In earlier chapters this has been discussed in relation to educational requirements, entry into employment, and the behaviour and demands of groups within society.

The adolescent transformation of the individual can in some instances bring back problems and difficulties which occurred during the first 3 years of life. Problems of identification, of emotional attachments, and difficulties in sorting out the parts that various individuals play may reappear. Early experiences of rejection and deprivation are felt once more with full force. While this aspect brings much unhappiness in many cases to families who thought that they had finished with 'all that', it also brings a new opportunity for help towards the further healing of old wounds. In many ways it can be said that the epoch of puberty and adolescence can be regarded as a recapitulation and transformation of the first epoch of life. It provides a second chance.

The inner exploration and questioning of young people of 16 and 17 is often only dimly perceived by themselves, and almost impossible for them to articulate, particularly if they have lost or never developed the habit of conversing with anyone who is older than themselves—as often happens. Outwardly, some rebel. They often get involved in rough-houses. They band together and ignore everyone else. They dress in their own 'uniforms', and they create their own language. They go to work, or to college, and spend their free time in gangs and groups, talking of anything rather than their work, leading a completely divided life. The recent epidemic of so-called joyriding—driving stolen cars at high speed in dangerous areas, thus terrorizing the community living there—may be a more aggressive and dangerous expression of this mood. To some older members of society they appear as an incomprehensible, threatening group, best avoided. To others they appear as members of a different species who never had enough discipline, and, alas, to others again, as ready victims for commercial exploitation.

However, there are some deceptive features of this age group. Closer acquaintance will show that while they feel detached from most conventional and accepted activities and people, this does not apply to their attitude to the whole of society. Many will be found quietly doing some regular 'good deed'—visiting an old person, or doing hospital voluntary service, or performing some chore, without this ever coming out in ordinary conversation. Youngsters will be found giving up part

of a holiday to help deprived children to have a real holiday. Where there is real need for human service, there such young people will be found quietly busy, without any fuss to advertise them. In these situations they are completely and reliably attached to their task.

It is a question worth asking whether these boys and girls (or rather young men and women) feel repelled by much that they meet in ordinary everyday life which is accepted by the adult society around them. Perhaps what they come up against goes so hard against the grain that they feel cut off and uncomprehending.⁷¹ It could be that the young people's protests, whether in the form of demonstration or even in the living of the life of new-age travellers have more spiritual conviction behind them than is suggested by their readily changing fashions of expression.

Discussion with 16- and 17-year-olds who have the capacity to formulate their ideas and feelings to some extent, soon brings to light a deep-rooted longing for confirmation of their value to the world. Again and again, uncertainty, hesitancy, a flight into childish behaviour, and then this profound questioning appear. What part am I to play in this world? What is my contribution to be to human society? Will it be rejected? Will I be redundant, not only in work but also in all else that I have it in me to give? Does anyone want me now that I have grown beyond my parental home?

It is easy to see why, with such doubts and feelings, some young people rush into an early marriage, and why some, particularly those who have themselves been hurt by previous experiences of rejection or even abuse in their family life, make disastrous transitory or unstable attachments, thus unwittingly perpetuating the curse of unhappiness and misery laid upon them by their earlier life. Finding a satisfactory emotional and sexual partner is one form of answer to the questing youngster between 17 and 20. The resulting family life, building a home, raising children, these activities can give all the personal and emotional satisfaction which the young man or woman craved and sought.

Other young people, however, are not satisfied by an emotionally-based answer to their questing, and indeed some young couples find that they are still searching, now in partnership, for the meaning which life should have for them. One is reminded of the questions which are constantly streaming from the 4-, 5-, and 6-year-old child. Just as in the case of the little child it was so very important to take these questions seriously, and to answer them patiently with loving concern, so now it is again vital that the young person finds someone who can

help him to clarify and formulate his ideas and questions without demanding the reward of belief, conversion, or any other alteration in the questioner. The little child's questions relate him to natural life. The young man (or woman) asks how to relate individual gifts and problems to human social life. An acceptable, ready answer cannot be given by anyone else. The questioner can only be helped to clarify his ideas and feelings, his doubts and troubles, by the process of their discussion. It is the concern and human interest of the listener that can really help the young man or woman to find an answer in the course of time. It is the forming of a human relationship on the basis of an exchange of ideas, feelings, and wishes from one human being to another, that holds the convincing proof of the young person's value.

One of the most successful post-war initiatives has been the movement for various forms of voluntary service. However, this is only a small contribution towards meeting the impulse to serve humanity which can be found so frequently in young people. Its very success shows that it fulfils a need in both directions. There needs to be much more knowledge about the real difficulties which spring up for the 16- and 17-year-old. At present society only adds to these by leaving them alone to sink or swim, to experiment with life—or death. They are left to find out for themselves—'We had to! Didn't we?'

If one considers the most important aspect of this age group, namely training for work in the world (for a profession in the widest sense), one can be appalled by the way in which the best-turned phrases and the most efficient bureaucratic system breaks down in practice. There has been a great deal of comment recently, especially in the educational field, that too early specialization and choice of work can be catastrophic for the young person. There is no end to the pronouncements on the need for broadbased comprehensive education, for late specialization, for young people to learn at school what will give them a key to life in the world, rather than a pass card to job-training. Yet in actual fact what happens is that our children take one of four roads.

In one group, including a high proportion of the girls, the young people show a gradual or steep falling off in achievement from about 12 or 13. They quite obviously lose interest in everything, including schooling, and drift at 15 or 16 into a job with no future training in prospect. It is argued even today, that the girls will get married anyway, and that further education is a waste of time and money. However, many of these same girls are equally inadequately prepared to become wives and mothers and to make a home. The patterns of

home-making are traditional within family groups, and daughters learn about being wife and mother from the way their own mother did it. It is part of the early identification and imitation already discussed. They drink it in with their mother's milk, if indeed they ever get mother's milk. Today, because of various social and economic factors, many wives and mothers have to work to help to keep the family going. Inquiries undertaken by women's organizations have made it clear that this is not to obtain luxury items. In most families where the mother works it is necessary in order to make ends meet. Young girls therefore may be given a distorted picture of the role of wife and mother in the home. Many are able to compensate for this through good teaching at school and others through their own enterprise; a proportion of young girls are left with an inadequate idea of how to fulfil a wife or mother's role emotionally and practically. Their own mother, and perhaps grandmother before her, had been a bread-winner, with no time to enjoy her children's childhood and contribute to their emotional maturation. These young people desperately need the opportunity to discuss, to ask questions, to have someone to go to who would understand and be able to tolerate inadequacies. Someone who will help them to work through all the complex, ambivalent, and searing emotions which the new roles bring with them. Clinical experience has shown that this support is needed for much longer than it is usually available. Often the young mother when she has her first child is suddenly confronted by her inadequacy at a most vulnerable moment. The inadequacy is not her fault. She cannot understand it but she feels bitterly ashamed. She resents her baby and its demands, and she feels guilt-stricken because of this resentment. She cannot easily divide her love between husband and child. She feels torn apart by the two of them, sometimes hating both for complicating her life.

The whole effort of welfare-clinic work and home visiting by health visitors could be most usefully intensified in this direction. More time and very good acquaintance are needed by the health visitor or social worker, not to become a bosom friend but to listen to and understand such a young wife's difficulties and to help her to work through them. Having done this, it may be far more helpful to teach her how to make a steak pie to her husband's liking, and how to strain some of the vegetables she cooked for him so that the toddler can eat them, than to proffer abstract advice. Once a young mother has gained trust in her health visitor she can be helped to find confidence in herself, and she will then be able to make quite different use of the health visitor's advice, which will come as a

response to questions quite different from those that would have been asked at first. She can become able to discriminate and use her own judgement more and more and will no longer be a ready victim for every busybody among the neighbours and friends.

The second group of young people consists of those who have decided on a trade for which they will train. These are fortunate enough to gain a training place. Some of them will have been in a 'grammar-school' stream, or have worked for GCSE's, and then have taken up a training place or apprenticeship. Since this book was written, these apprenticeships have almost disappeared, or are considered to be unnecessary, as modern technology has transformed the old style of working. These in some ways cause the least anxiety. They have been able to strike a happy balance between general education and specialist preparation for further training. They may sail through their passage with a minimum of trouble. The competence of their choice in itself indicates a mature level of decision-taking.

The third group, however, includes the youngsters described in the Newsom Report⁴⁵ and presents a very different picture. A number of these young people have never had the thrilling experience of outstanding success. They have consistently been accustomed to failing or just getting by. They have decided usually by age 11 that they are not good enough for school; that they can never hope to understand what school could still offer them. They are inarticulate, unable to put their feelings into words. Adults are often irritated by their deceptively off-hand manner; their deep-set conviction of inevitable personal failure escapes recognition. If children could be given a really 'comprehensive' education and not simply subjected to a placement in one of a number of schools under one comprehensive roof, these children could be prepared for a life they could live. Some schools have proved that it is a practical possibility to relate education to life as it is being lived.

The fourth group is represented by those young people who find their way into further formal education as students of some kind. These young people are being subjected to increasing mental amputation by the admission requirements of universities and colleges, despite protests from education experts in schools and in the universities themselves. This is a strange situation where the universities especially are clamouring for more comprehensively educated students, while making such education increasingly impossible by their entrance requirements. University and college life brings many

problems to a highly articulate group of young people, but the enigmatic way in which the intellectual fare is often presented to them tends in itself to stifle any attempt at probing more deeply into the meaning of life and of human purposes. The stresses to which the situation gave rise may end up in a mental breakdown in the student. Certainly a technological society demands a vast degree of technological education of its students, to enable them to grapple with their increasingly complex everyday life and work. On the other hand, it is even more important not to lose sight of the human needs of the growing man or woman. The flight into arts subjects,^{10, 11} where a trace of humanity still remains in the subjects themselves, might well become a stampede.

In conclusion, it is interesting to compare the 'initiation by default' to which our society subjects its adolescents, with the pattern of initiation into adult responsibilities practised by primitive tribes.

Anthropologists have described the recurrence in different cultures among stone-age people of procedures to which post-pubertal young men particularly are subjected. They are terrorized, frightened, and subjected to pain. They are made to dance rhythmically to the point of complete exhaustion and collapse. This process brings the young men totally under the command of their chiefs and elders.⁵⁵ The tribe, of course, depends upon these young men as hunters and warriors. They are therefore not permitted an individual role during this period of youth and they are not allowed to marry. Such total ego-subjugation, which is reinforced at intervals by further dancing ceremonies, saps the individuality of most of these young men, and they remain obedient to the commands of the chiefs. Similar tactics were used in Germany to convert the people to Nazism,⁵⁵ and proved most horribly effective. Young people just after puberty are in a most vulnerable condition. Their ego has only just been born to them, i.e. they have only just become fully aware of the self. It is not ready yet to be exposed mercilessly to the gathering storm. A great deal of tactful support and friendship is needed from surrounding adults to help the youngster to find and identify himself, if he is to grow into a free individual. Otherwise this is the moment when his thinking can be enslaved and his individuality totally swamped, by an ideology, a religion, or by the need to toe the line in order to succeed in work or study. Redl put this situation very well at the Sixth International Congress of Child Psychiatry, when he described young peoples' situation today as being a 'Moratorium without any oxygen'.

Epilogue

The threshold of adult life—21

It was said in earlier chapters that the free play of the young child is a preparation for the free activity of the adult and that the one is impossible without the other. By practising and acting out his ideas in free play, the young child learns to make his own decisions, to decide to abide by them or to alter them, and, later, to fit in his ideas with those of others. At school, while he can certainly day-dream for some of the time, he must be expected to harness his imagination to the teachers' demands. Of course with a more enlightened educational programme much of the earlier freedom in self-expression can be retained, as the work of many primary schools shows. However, one of the functions of the parents and school must be to help the child to adapt to the demands of normal life, and so he must lose his freedom to a certain extent. His imagination can only rarely go roaming and, even if it does, this will not lead to free action very often. This restriction applies still more in some of the more rigid higher educational settings where the practical application of new ideas about educational techniques seems to percolate slowly if at all.

There is a characteristic fallacy connected with ideas about the upbringing of children which requires examination in this concluding chapter. It follows as a corollary on what has just been discussed regarding the need for children to learn to accept and adapt to real life and its real situations and demands. This fallacy is that children must be spared all unpleasantness and that they need to be shielded from all anxiety. The idea arises immediately out of the shallowness with which we tend to look on life, a shallowness that seems particularly characteristic of urban societies which have become divorced from the primitive but unmistakeable realities of natural life. An expectation

creeps in that money and science in sufficient quantity will 'put everything right', i.e. will make life one long road of pleasurable experiences, without sickness, without death even, certainly without pain. This communal fantasy has reached the point where some blocks of flats even have lifts or stairs too narrow conveniently to accommodate a stretcher or a coffin. In modern urban society, no one with a well-regulated life can possibly fall ill, let alone die. Yet people do fall ill, and everyone must eventually die, and this is as much a law of life as that one has to be born and go through childhood to become an adult. This process must of necessity bring with it a certain measure of anxiety, of unhappiness, even of pain: and the adults must be strong enough to support the child through such trials. There is an increasing tendency among adults to put pain, grief, anger, mourning—the unpleasant emotions—away, perhaps even to suppress them with drink or drugs. A report on the stories of widows in East London, and other studies of grief and mourning,^{40, 46} show that these feelings can cause illness and what an essential part the expression of such feelings, as well as feelings of happiness, plays in healthy living. However, inner strength and security are needed in order to be able to give all feelings healthy expression, and such security can only come from brave acquaintance with unpleasant feelings as well as of pleasure and joy, throughout childhood.

Today, it seems that many children, while they are being ostensibly sheltered from unpleasantness, live out their childhood in a grey world of deprivation and joylessness, punctuated by pleasure from momentary satisfactions such as a new bicycle or an ice-cream. They can become accustomed to an image of themselves as a sort of permanently second-class citizen if we are not quick to discover and counteract this. This kind of development of children does not seem to be necessarily related to financial poverty. In some cases the families are well off. It is more due to a failure to come to grips with the realities in life, with genuine feelings of enthusiasm, of despair, of joy, or sorrow. Re-examination of the lives which many of our children actually lead will show all too clearly the drabness and emotional and spiritual deprivation that is their lot.

It is hoped that this small book may show many readers the way to help to relieve this drabness, to respond to children so that their lives are enriched by the experience, to lead them into life on a secure and realistic path, not one paved with sentimental illusions about how childhood ought to be. We must help the children to grow into reality,

with clear perception, feelings that are sufficiently awakened for truly based sympathy and antipathy, and initiative to act constructively when their thinking and feeling moves them.

There is another aspect to the growth of adult freedom out of childhood freedom. The development of self-confidence and resilience which can come from faith in one's own destiny (one's 'Star') is necessary for maturity and independence in the world as we know it. The old supporting systems of ideas and values, duties and routines, on which an individual could lean, and former accepted social demarcations are all disintegrating. The only true point of reference which the individual can have in the maelstrom of modern society is himself, his 'Star', and his destiny. His capacity to make secure relationships with others which have meaning and reality in themselves is a part of this acceptance. Otherwise he must rely upon status to give him 'personality' and may indeed base self-confidence on an 'image' or false self. This situation leads some young people to feel that they are entitled to act realistically according to their lights, even though such actions do not fit in with the demands of their society. If the results strike older, more conforming members of that society as morally shocking or otherwise socially subversive, they must question themselves for the reason why, for example, concepts of conventional morality are regarded with such suspicion by young people today.

The stone-age tribes, and the old societies which still remain intact today, live by a tradition founded upon original religious experience which is still a part of their everyday life. The gods are still thought to work for or against them in wind and weather, at sowing and harvest time, during hunting and in war. By old traditional means, which are still often directed at physiological processes, they can reinvolve what they consider to be a direct experience of their living gods, whether in trance-states, in induced religious ecstasy, or in the simple reiteration of an accepted faith and its attendant rituals.

West-European society, despite pretensions to the contrary, has become increasingly godless since the waning of medieval religious fervour. An expression of feeling about God, or religion, is liable to be regarded as an embarrassing *faux pas*, as hypocrisy, or as irrational fanaticism. But children grow up through intense inner questioning of life and death, God and the Devil, past and future, through deepening awareness of themselves in relation to all this, to attempt finally to reconcile it with what they become aware of as the outside world. In this context, it is not surprising that many young people search for

means to bring them closer to any experience which they can call spiritual, because it has a quality of the unearthly or 'otherness'. This may again be a partial explanation for the taking of hallucinogenic drugs by young people. In old times these drugs were employed under the control of priests in religious rituals. The urge to dance themselves to a standstill becomes comprehensible in the light of the dancing ceremonies which are used by some primitive tribes to maintain discipline and crush the urge to individual self-expression in their young men. Our European society has so far failed abysmally to find a convincing inner spiritual strength commensurate with the increasingly insistent spiritual demands and expectations of the young people who are growing up and being educated to independent thinking in it. It has not even managed to look this fact honestly in the face. Small wonder that its handwringings over the excesses of some of its youngsters are treated by them with contempt as hypocritical and unwarranted.

Growth, development, and change continue throughout life, and each age brings with it new questions and new answers to old questions. Each age has new problems, crises, and possibilities. Parents and teachers learn as much from the children as the children learn from them, both about themselves and about life. So, in closing, it is to the children, our real teachers, to whom honour and thanks should be given for reminding us constantly to look at reality in life and so come nearer to truth.

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- NOTE. These three courses were given concurrently, and are usefully studied in chronological order as given day by day, rather than book by book.
- 69.* STEINER, R. (1919), *Die Waldorfschule und ihr Geist. Welche Gesichtspunkte liegen der Errichtung der Waldorfschule zugrunde?*, Drei Vorträge, gehalten in Stuttgart am 24. und 31. August 1919. Verlag Freies Geistesleben, Stuttgart, 1956.
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76. STEINER, R. (1922), *Geistige Wirkenskraefte im Zusammenleben von alter und junger Generation*, Paedagogischer Jugendkurs. Dreizehn Vortraege, gehalten in Stuttgart vom 3. bis 15. Oktober 1922. Verlag der Rudolf Steiner Nachlassverwaltung, Dornach, Schweiz, 1964.

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About the author

Dr. Frommer was born in Berlin, of Jewish Refugee parents from Poland & Russia. She attended the Berlin Waldorf School. At the age of nine years, she had to flee to England with the rest of her close family. She attended Michael Hall (Rudolf Steiner) School, and then the Royal Free Hospital as a medical student. Dr. Frommer specialised in paediatrics, adult & child psychiatry. She developed a Child Psychiatric Service in the London Borough of West Lambeth, centred on St. Thomas's Hospital Children's Department, with extensive contact with the Medical School.

This book was originally written for her medical students, who had no other general text to work from.

The author is retired and lives in Forest Row, Sussex.

Further Reading

The following list may be found helpful by readers who are interested in pursuing research into Steiner's philosophy. It is by no means comprehensive, but comprises a few of the written books which give a general introduction to the field of Steiner's work and some which seem particularly relevant to the present text. Choice and quotations are the author's, and the notes are intended only to highlight a few points, they are not précis. The size of Steiner's work—over forty written books and collections of essays, and more than 6000 lectures—makes a wider list impossible in a book of this size. The planned edition of Steiner's complete works will consist of about 300 books. A full bibliography is obtainable from Rudolf Steiner-Nachlassverwaltung, Dornach, Schweiz.

The author is deeply indebted for the help with the references to Steiner's work to: Miss Bosset, Librarian, Anthroposophical Library, London, Mr. A. C. Harwood, Chairman, Anthroposophical Society in Great Britain, and Dr. R. Friedenthal, Rudolf Steiner-Nachlassverwaltung, Dornach, Switzerland.

1. STEINER, R. (1917), *Von Seelenraetseln*, Rudolf Steiner-Nachlassverwaltung, Dornach, 1960. To be published in English as *The Riddles of the Soul*, Rudolf Steiner Press, London, 1994

In this book Steiner describes his concept of the 'soul functions' of thinking, feeling, and will. He relates these to the physiological functions of the central nervous system and sense-organs, the rhythmic functions of all organs, particularly respiration and the cardiovascular system, and all metabolic functions, especially the

digestive and musculoskeletal systems respectively (see ref. 66). The concept is an artistic one and not quantifiable.

(In Steiner's works on education he deduced physical and intellectual education requirements of children for healthy development from this concept. He considers it as part of the artistic function of teaching that the pupils experience a rhythmic alternation of activities and subjects. A balance of the intellectual (thinking) and physical (will) can be achieved through the use of artistic media in education, for example. Steiner considers this way of teaching to be essential for the maintenance of good health in the children.

This approach can lead to many interesting observations, for example how all young children deal with the way in which they organize their free play.

It can stimulate further observation of the natural state of good health not only in children but in adults too.)

2. STEINER, R. (1894), *Die Philosophie der Freiheit*, Rudolf Steiner-Nachlassverwaltung, Dornach, 1962.

Trans. The Philosophy of Spiritual Activity a Philosophy of Freedom, London, Rudolf Steiner Press, 1992

This book is an exercise in tightly knit argument which gradually leads the reader from simple, almost naive statements, to imaginative thinking. Its study leads to a very stringent examination of values and judgements and clear distinction between ideas and motives that are derivative and those that are new.

The concept of individual freedom which underlies the whole idea of Waldorf education, is gradually clarified.

3. STEINER, R. (1902), *Das Christentum als mystische Tatsache*, Rudolf Steiner-Nachlassverwaltung, Dornach, 1959.

Trans. Christianity as Mystical Fact and the Mysteries of Antiquity, Rudolf Steiner Press, London, 1985.

This book elaborates Steiner's view of the central place of the Christian events within human history, and the changing task of humanity in its development since that time.

4. STEINER, R. (1904), *Wie erlangt man Erkenntnisse der Hoeheren Welten*, Rudolf Steiner-Nachlassverwaltung, Dornach, 1961.

Trans. Knowledge of the Higher Worlds: How is it achieved?, London, Rudolf Steiner Press, 1992.

In this book Steiner describes the conduct necessary for the esoteric student and gives exercises in meditation and concentration.

This book must be taken equally seriously throughout, and the rules of self-discipline and preparation are absolutely essential to the rest.

5. STEINER, R. (1910), *Die Geheimwissenschaft im Umriss*, Rudolf Steiner-Nachlassverwaltung, Dornach, Schweiz, 1968.
Trans. Occult Science, an Outline, Rudolf Steiner Press, London 1988.

In this book Steiner gives an account of his spiritual investigations into the development of the earth and man. It also contains a chapter elaborating his view of states of consciousness. The contents of this book can be seen as the fruits of the esoteric training whose beginnings are described in the book on how to attain knowledge of the higher worlds. As is the case in all the books by Steiner there is no demand made on the reader to form a religious or other belief; he is, however, asked to meet the contents with an unprejudiced mind, and allow the ideas put forward to stand or fall by their own merits.

6. STEINER, R. (1914), *Die Raetsel der Philosophie in ihrer Geschichte als Umriss dargestellt*, Rudolf Steiner-Nachlassverwaltung, Dornach, Schweiz, 1968.

This book traces and explores the changes and development (evolution) in the way that men have thought and felt about the problems of life on earth and its relationship to the universe. It is not concerned with the religious aspect of this development, however, as is the book on Christianity as mystical fact.

The argument proceeds through intimate involvement by the author in turn with representative philosophers of various attitudes and styles of thinking, from early Greek times. There are over 400 references and quotations, some extensive, from their works.

The process of development of the thinking that takes place among men about man, and his relation to the world and the universe, is traced through to the beginnings of natural scientific thinking and the works of Karl Marx and Einstein.

A final chapter explains and defines the position of Steiner's philosophic thinking in relation to earlier thinkers and puts the new contribution which he makes in its historical context.

The roots of many modern social, political, and philosophic problems are shown clearly in this history in new perspectives which

may challenge the reader to form new ideas.

7. STEINER, R. (1919), *Die Kernpunkte der Sozialen Frage in den Lebensnotwendigkeiten der Gegenwart und Zukunft*, Rudolf Steiner-Nachlassverwaltung, Dornach, Schweiz, 1961.

Trans. *The Threefold Commonwealth*, the Anthroposophical Publishing Co., London, 1923 (out of print).

The Threefold Social Order, the Anthroposophical Press, New York, 1966.

After the 1914-18 War, Steiner was deeply concerned to avert economic and political collapse in Europe. He formulated ideas on a Threefold Commonwealth among independent but interdependent states. Cultural and spiritual activities, scientific research, and all that pertains to man's free individuality was to be left free to develop without political or economic ties or biases, for the benefit of all mankind. Political and legal equality among men would guarantee personal freedom and safety for each individual and, most important of all, the economic life of the European community should become self regulatory by a genuine system of supply and demand, with man's labour no longer regarded as a quantifiable, saleable commodity. These ideas found extensive support, particularly in Germany, and called forth commensurate and extremely violent opposition. The situation eventually became so dangerous for Steiner that from 1922 on he was prevented from giving any further public lectures in Germany.

The Threefold Commonwealth ideal was routed by the violent opposition, and the inflation and slump followed. The subsequent political and economic history of Germany and Europe is known to all, and needs no recapitulation here.

It should be added that the whole idea of Waldorf Education became a reality as a result of this impulse. One of the supporters of the Threefold Commonwealth ideal invited Steiner to create a new kind of school for his factory workers' children. The whole administrative organization of this school was based on the new social thinking, the content of the syllabus and the time-table were arranged according to the developmental needs of the children, and the aim of the education was to produce scholars of independent judgement with feelings of social involvement, who had learned to enjoy and be fulfilled by learning about the world, and were able to continue to develop their faculties unhampered by tradition or convention. Only free individuals can live together in a free community, collaborate without seeking

power over one another, and come to new forms and contents of knowledge.

Rudolf Steiner education—further reading

There are many books on child development & Rudolf Steiner education. The following is a brief selection.

G. CHILDS, *Steiner Education in Theory & Practice*, Floris, 1992

L.F. EDMUNDS, *Renewing Education*, Hawthorn Press, 1992

L.F. EDMUNDS, *Rudolf Steiner Education – The Waldorf School*, Rudolf Steiner Press, 1992

A.C. HARWOOD, *The Recovery of Man in Childhood*, Rudolf Steiner Press, London, 1988

B. LIEVEGOED, *Phases of Childhood*, Floris Books, Edinburgh, 1987

R. LISSAU, *Rudolf Steiner*, Hawthorn Press, 1987

M. SPOCK, *Teaching as a Lively Art*, Anthroposophic Press, New York, 1978.

B. STALEY, *Between Form and Freedom—a practical guide to the teenage years*, Hawthorn Press, 1988.

Education Towards Freedom, Lanthorn Press, Sussex, 1981

R. WILKINSON, *Rudolf Steiner on Education*, Hawthorn Press 1994.

SING ME THE CREATION

Paul Matthews

Introduction by Robert Sardello

This is a workbook of creative writing exercises which can be used by individuals, teachers with students and writing groups. There are over 300 exercises, both 'silly and serious' which provide many ideas for improving writing. Originally designed for group work with adults, teachers will find a multitude of inspirational ideas for the classroom.

Paul Matthews teaches creative writing at Emerson College, Sussex. He travels, giving workshops and poetry readings of his own poems.

Robert Sardello (author of the best-selling *Facing the World With Soul*, concluded his introduction as follows:-

'When a rare book such as this is published, one always wonders where it will be put on the shelves of bookstores. It belongs in the self-help section. It also belongs in the section on theology and religion, psychology, spirituality, hermeticism, literature, poetry, art, and humor. The pedantics who have to classify and catalogue are bound to find this work disturbing. In truth, it does not matter where this book is shelved as it is one of those works which will locate its readers rather than readers locating it. This book, I predict, will more or less find its own way into the world, for after all, it has wings.'

Richard Ramsbottom, a creative writing teacher comments on Paul Matthew's work:-

'I have used a wide variety of books, often by well-known authors, when teaching creative writing in schools and university, but none could *remotely* compare with the ideas and exercises I received from Paul Matthews. These exercises *work*. 1) They are simple and immediately usable in a class. 2) They all lead to a real creative satisfaction, i.e. they are practically imaginative.'

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RUDOLF STEINER ON EDUCATION

A COMPENDIUM

Roy Wilkinson.

Rudolf Steiner (1861 – 1925) was an inspiring teacher who founded a thriving educational movement. He was a pioneer of a comprehensive, co-educational form of education for children from kindergarten through to the end of high school.

However, there are a few accessible introductions in English to what Steiner said about education. Roy Wilkinson offers this compendium of Rudolf Steiner on education as a guide. It gives a short, comprehensive survey of Steiner's educational thinking. For some, this will be an introduction. For others it can be a useful source book to follow up.

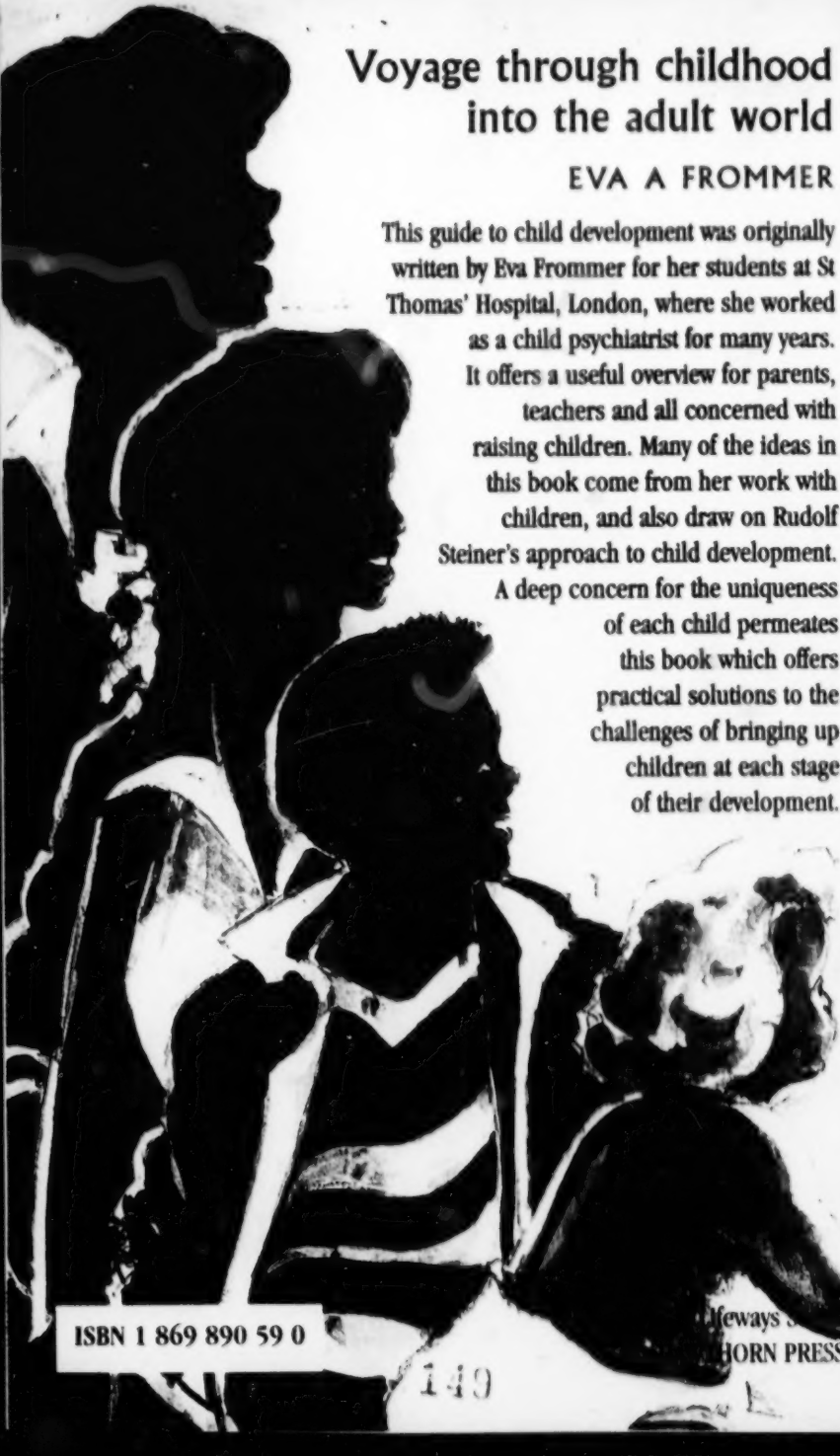
Roy Wilkinson has written and lectured widely on Rudolf Steiner education, building on his many years in school teaching. His book, *Commonsense Schooling* gave an outline of Rudolf Steiner education in a practical sense. The present work attempts something different. It goes much deeper into educational matters and could be considered a sequel.

DRAWING & PAINTING IN RUDOLF STEINER SCHOOLS

Magrit Jünemann and Fritz Weitmann.

This comprehensive account of painting and drawing in the Steiner curriculum combines detailed practical advice with a clearly defined philosophy on aesthetic education. The book takes readers carefully through each stage of art teaching, suggesting appropriate exercises and explaining the reasons for the different developments in the curriculum at appropriate stages of pupils' development. This book is not only a vital reference source for all who are involved in teaching in Steiner schools, but an inspiration to all who are concerned with children's creative development.

If you have difficulty ordering this book from a bookshop, you can obtain it direct from Hawthorn Press, Hawthorn House, 1 Lansdown Lane, Lansdown, Stroud, Glouc. GL5 1BJ. (0453) 757040



Voyage through childhood into the adult world

EVA A FROMMER

This guide to child development was originally written by Eva Frommer for her students at St Thomas' Hospital, London, where she worked as a child psychiatrist for many years.

It offers a useful overview for parents, teachers and all concerned with raising children. Many of the ideas in this book come from her work with children, and also draw on Rudolf Steiner's approach to child development.

A deep concern for the uniqueness of each child permeates this book which offers practical solutions to the challenges of bringing up children at each stage of their development.

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